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Yugoslavia

Federal—TANJUG reports that a Yugoslav state commission issued its conclusions on the causes of the EC helicopter downing on 6 January in Croatia. Among the 11 stated conclusions, the EC mission's flight from Kaposvar to Zagreb "had not been approved by competent Yugoslav organs." The report also states that the helicoptor received warnings from the Federal Flight Control Administration that "Yugoslavia's air space is closed to air traffic." Blame also went to "the regional flight control in Budapest" when they "made a slip" by not informing the regional flight control in Belgrade about the EC helicopter's take-off "thus violating international air traffic regulations." The commission did admit "that the decision to open fire on the helicopter was made somewhat too hastily."

An expanded SFRY Presidency session "reached full agreement" on Cyrus Vance's peace plan. In a statement reported by TANJUG, the Presidency "will give assurances to the UN Security Council that it will ensure the uninterrupted arrival of UN peacekeeping troops" and "efficient collaboration" by local authorities in areas where UN troops are to be deployed.

Serbia—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, has been indicted and will stand trial on 20 February in Belgrade. According to TANJUG, Draskovic is charged with "organizing the 9 March demonstrations in Belgrade, in spite of a ban by the Ministry for Internal Affairs." Draskovic has not appealed and is "looking forward to the trial."

Bulgaria

Sofia radio reports that a "power limited use system" was introduced in the country on 3 February because of a "fault" at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant generating unit. The report says that there was no "accident" but the sixth generating unit was "shut down" due to a "fault in one of the pumps that service the safety system." The "fault" is expected to be corrected within 14 days.

Czechoslovakia

Leaders continue to comment on the sale of Czechoslovak-made tanks to Syria and their interception by German authorities in the Mediterranean. Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay said the sale "violates neither Czechoslovak laws nor international regulations," according to CSTK. In considering authorization for the sale, Baksay said that they carefully considered the situation in Slovakia which has resulted from the rapid conversion of the arms industry civilian programs.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Egon Lansky rejected a DPA report claiming that the tank shipment had come from the CSFR Army. Lansky told CSTK that the Czechoslovak Army "does not export any tanks or any other weapons." In his weekly Prague radio interview President Vaclav Havel was asked whether "unlawful actions" have taken place vis-a-vis arms exports. Havel said that he has requested an investigation of reports appearing in RESPEKT and elsewhere but that "at this moment it cannot be said that someone has exported arms from Czechoslovakis without the consent of the state." He said however that "various shipments are under consideration which are unacceptable to the state."

Poland

A Danish ship loaded in the post of Szczecin with 12 Czechoslovak-made T-72 tanks "similar to those which left Szczecin on the German ship 'Godewind'" was "ostensibly bound for Syria," PAP reports.

CSCE Foreign Ministers Continue Prague Session

Greece's Samaras Addresses Conference

NC0102133992 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 2200 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras tonight addressed foreign ministers attending the CSCE meeting in Prague. He referred to the importance of strengthening the feeling of security which constitutes the basis of CSCE procedure and to Greek efforts to contribute to CSCE countries' stability and prosperity.

Among other things, Samaras talked about his support for the center for preventing clashes, expanding the responsibilities of the free elections office, concluding the open skies treaty, mechanisms and decisions affecting the minorities, and concluding the final Prague and Vienna texts in 1992.

Referring to our country, Samaras said that despite it being in a region where there are increasing dangers, Greece is experienced and provides stability. At the outset, Greece and the other member states tried to find a solution to the Yugoslav problem by aiming for peace and stability in the Balkans. The EC and its member states then set specific and clear conditions which must be satisfied before the former Yugoslav republics can be recognized as independent states.

Turkey's Cetin on Republics Membership

TA0102160992 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1440 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] Prague (AA)—Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin pointed out here on Friday that the meeting of the foreign ministerial council of European Conference for Security and Cooperation (CSCE) was of historical importance with decisions covering a wide range of the CSCE aims.

In an exclusive statement to AA, Cetin said Turkey spent intense efforts for the acceptance as full members of CSCE of Turkic republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. "These brother republics which won their independence recently have demonstrated that they have selected a contemporary and democratic order in which human rights and free market economy are upheld. The CSCE now extends from Vancouver on the Pacific shore of Canada to Kyrgyzstan in central Asia. We shall also do our best to have these republics establish harmony with the CSCE system," Cetin said.

Cetin added that in his speech at the council meeting he asked other CSCE members to help the new republics for the same purpose. "In fact the CSCE members took a decision to extend diplomatic, legal, technical and administrative help to the new Turkic republics," he said.

Ganev Explains Balkan Stance

AU3101155392 Sofia BTA in English 1432 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Prague, January 31 (BTA)—"It is the Bulgarian Government's firm belief that its position contributes to stability in the Balkans and is in line with the principles of international law and the present realities," Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Stoyan Ganev pointed out in his statement at the second meeting of the foreign ministers of the CSCE states today.

He spoke of the situation in the Balkans and described this region as "the most troubled part of Europe."

"We believe that the Balkans are in need of European policy, relieved of the Balkan complexes and ambitions for historical revenge," he said.

Guided by its sense of responsibility, Bulgaria's new democratic government decided to recognize the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, Mr. Ganev said. He explained his concept of the recognition as a process. The first stage is the recognition itself, i.e. the recognition of the present borders. Bulgaria thus declared that it has no territorial designs on any of the four republics and that it opposes any possible such claims of the other neighbouring countries as well as any attempts to have those borders redrawn by threat or by force. The next stage of the process is the establishment of diplomatic relations in conformity with the course of the international processes, Mr. Ganev pointed out.

Ganev Meets With Counterparts

AU3101210292 Sofia BTA in English 2010 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Prague, January 31 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, who is attending the session of the CSCE countries' foreign ministers, today continued his series of bilateral meetings holding talks with his counterparts from France, Austria, Canada and Switzerland.

At the meeting Mr. Ganev had with Ms. Elizabeth Guigou, minister of European affairs of France, the two sides discussed the situation in Yugoslavia pointing out the problem should be viewed as a process, in which the recognition of the republics which had declared their independence is only the first phase. It was underlined that for Bulgaria the recognition of the republics means first of all respecting the right to self-determination of the people who live in the respective territories on the one hand, and confirming once more that Bulgaria has no territorial claims and recognizes the existing borders on the other. It is only after that that the next phase comes—the establishment of diplomatic relations. The next phase becoming a fact would depend on the processes within the European Community and the peacemaking process in Yugoslavia, Mr. Ganev stressed.

Ms. Guigou emphasized that no privileges should be given to any of the newly emerging democracies at the expense of the others in their association with the European Community. She assessed positively the implementation of the economic reform in Bulgaria.

Mr. Ganev's meeting with Austria's Foreign Minister Alois Mock was actually a continuation of the dialogue opened in December last year in Vienna. Discussing the two countries' relations, the foreign ministers stressed the shared desire to expand them and make them more specific. The approach to the recognition of the Yugoslav republics was also discussed. It was underlined that the CSCE process can be instrumental in guaranteeing European security.

At the meeting Mr. Ganev had with his Canadian counterpart, Ms. Barbara McDougall, the two foreign ministers discussed the conclusion of a consular convention and the opening of Canada's mission in Sofia. The CSCE session in Prague and its importance was also in the focus of their attention.

At the talks minister Ganev had with Sweden's Minister of Foreign Affairs Margaretha Ugglas the two sides underlined the necessity to promote the two countries' relations in the political sphere by placing them on a sound footing through regularly held consultations. Mr. Ganev expressed Bulgaria's desire to conclude a free trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) which would be another step forward as Bulgaria has already signed a cooperation agreement with the EFTA.

Nastase Comments on Results

AU3101205592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/1/1992—The ministerial conference in Prague started with a membership of 38 and concluded with a membership of 48 states, Adrian Nastase said in a statement made to the ROMPRES special correspondent before his leaving for Davos. It was a very important change not only from the point of view of the number itself but also because these new members come with new problems and hopes which will burden the CSCE already complex problems. At the same time, the political concept of Europe acquires new dimensions including both the American and the Asian continents.

A fundamental feature of the meeting—from our point of view—was Moldova's involvement among the CSCE member states because this means a multilateral recognition of the Republic of Moldova. The Romanian people have therefore two votes at the CSCE which is important also in the perspective of certain concerns on the CSCE decisional system.

As far as the proceedings themselves are concerned, Mr. Nastase also said, points of view and options were discussed concerning the preparatory meeting due to start in March as well as for the summit meeting in Helsinki in July. After all the changes having taken place in Europe we are in a period similar to a peace conference of reorganising the continent when many questions arise. Some formula estrange from the CSCE spirit of 1975. [sentence as received] One of the essential elements was if consensus be maintained as general rule in the CSCE functioning. The points of view are different, Mr. Nastase specified. Some "changes" from the principle of consensus have already taken place in issues concerning the launching of mechanisms, procedures but for the first time the ministerial council decided that in certain situations of violating the pledges the states had assumed on human rights, democracy and state of law actions be allowed to be adopted through the "minus one consensus" that is without the agreement of the concerned state.

It was a long debate on this issue, Mr. Nastase said, we were the last to accept that provision because when this issue is explained and examined consideration is made only of one of the possible hypotheses connected with situations that could destroy the demographic balance in a country. But there are also other possible hypotheses we think about such as the use as a pretext of internal turmoil to draw international attention to certain problems creating by this method a kind of permanent "show" hiding a discontent with a territorial component.

We have unequivocally underscored that what is good for Europe as far as minorities are concerned is also good for Romania. This permanent presumption of irresponsibility of Eastern European governments in connection with their internal behaviour is annoying and it is not a normal consequence of the process of valoric emancipation, of democratic changes in those countries. There was more confidence in those governments' behaviour during the Cold War with communist governments and this is one of the paradoxes of the current situation.

We have insisted, the Romanian foreign minister stated, upon a more diversified debate on the directions the CSCE is heading to, in order to see the way in which the interests of all CSCE member states will be represented. I do not think that somebody can consider that democracy in European or Eastern European countries means the disappearance of the attributes of sovereignty and their positioning under the international tutorship in any field in connection with the behaviour in any question, the need to establish arbitration formulae of the type of the Holy Alliance in the 19th century or other formulae which do not coincide with the internal processes in our countries, Adrian Nastase concluded.

EC's Andriessen Rejects CSCE Forces

LD0102214292 Prague CSTK in English 1751 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 31 (CSTK)—Vice-president of the European Community [EC] Commission Frans Andriessen said today the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] should not yet have its

own peace-keeping forces. He told reporters the CSCE member countries would continue to offer technical assistance to the republics of the former Soviet Union and to support their efforts to establish market economies and pluralistic political systems in their countries. He said he supported the idea of supplying western financial assistance to former Soviet republics to enable them to purchase goods from East and Central Europe. He said goods exported to the Soviet Union from Central Europe should first include food and medicine, to be followed later by high-technology products.

Dienstbier Delivers Concluding Statement

LD3101145992 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1129 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Final statement and comments by CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier to the closing session of the CSCE Foreign Ministers Council at the Palace of Culture in Prague on 31 January; Dienstbier speaks in English for the final statement, with superimposed Czech translation, and in Czech for concluding comments—live]

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, I am opening the last session of the Prague meeting. I would like to summarize the results of our work. I will read you the summary of our conclusions:

The CSCE Council has held its second session in Prague. [passage omitted] On the basis of the consultations on changes in Europe, and on the role of the CSCE and the contributions of other international and European institutions, in order to reinforce the CSCE structures and to prepare for the next meeting in Helsinki, we adopted with immediate validity the Prague Document on the Further Development of Structures and Instructions of the CSCE.

The ministers agree that the meeting in Helsinki will be an important milestone in the development of the CSCE process and will map out a further path. The representatives at the next meeting should adhere to the comprehensive concept of CSCE stability, including human rights and the political, military, economic elements, and [word indistinct] of the [word indistinct] environment. The important role of the CSCE in reinforcing democratic development and including member countries into the CSCE structure will secure the principles and norms and will help stability and security in Europe.

The importance of the implementation of these aims, especially in the area of human rights and fundamental freedoms, takes into consideration the new situation in Europe and the increase in the number of CSCE member states.

It is the aim of the CSCE to prevent conflict and reinforce peace and to remove sources of tension in such a way as to ensure respect for human rights, including the rights of minorities. The CSCE will build democratic institutions and aid economic and social progress. We emphasize the need to increase the capacity of the CSCE so that it is in harmony with the principles on settling problems in a peaceful way, including the problems of national minorities, which might lead to both internal and external conflicts, and (?to secure) a system of early warning. Furthermore, we must help to prevent conflicts and try to settle disputes in a peaceful way.

We must increase the efficiency of CSCE institutions. Their functions must be interconnected. [sentence indistinct]

The ministers held a comprehensive discussion about the Yugoslav crisis. They welcome the cease-fire agreement achieved under UN auspices as part of this process, and call for that agreement to be observed. The ministers also warn against any extension of this conflict. They confirm their support for the endeavors on the part of the UN secretary general and the Security Council. They reaffirm the need to create conditions for the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 727 on Yugoslavia. They support the United Nations concept of peace forces and express hope that this will facilitate a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. The ministers reiterate the commitment made by the participating states to seek a durable resolution to this crisis in keeping with the measures taken by the CSCE and in meeting the legitimate aspirations of all the peoples concerned. The ministers agree that this requires all sides to respect international obligations, the rule of law, democracy, human rights, and guarantees for ethnic minorities in line with the obligations expressed within the CSCE framework, and respect for the inviolability of all internal and external borders, which can only be changed by peaceful means and common agreement.

They pledge to resolve regional disputes. They talked about guaranteeing the borders of neighboring states, saying that it is necessary to refrain from hostile territorial claims. The ministers reiterate that they will cooperate in seeking comprehensive solutions to crises and will refrain from any actions which [words indistinct] were preventing. They stress the need for dialogue and increased cooperation between neighboring states toward this purpose.

The ministers voice their concern about the humanitarian aspects of the crisis. All parties involved should permit urgent assistance to localities that need it. They voiced their support for the endeavors of UN humanitarian agencies and others to assist in the return of refugees to their homes.

I would like to remind those who are responsible for violence and cease-fire violations that international law assigns them personal responsibility for their actions by which they have violated international laws. The ministers fully endorse the efforts made by the committees of plenipotentiaries, including efforts undertaken within the framework of the consultative activities and cooperation in regard to urgent situations. The ministers appreciate the activities of the group that has been monitoring

the situation in Yugoslavia and the European committees that have extended help. The ministers voice the hope that the global resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and all other aspects will be achieved.

A CSCE fact-finding mission visited Yugoslavia and has submitted its report. The ministers considered the results of this report. The ministers state that the situation in Yugoslavia in terms of human rights and the minority situation should be monitored by the CSCE. Various CSCE mechanisms should be utilized and further groups dispatched. The ministers ask the relevant European committee to consider the need for further possible actions.

The ministers voice their concern regarding new signs of intolerance, xenophobia, and racism. They discussed the importance of tackling discrimination and how society should be built on CSCE principles. The ministers demand that Helsinki meetings focus attention on all appropriate means on which groups and individuals will be protected against discrimination, whether religious, racial, or national.

The ministers arrived at the following conclusions: They reaffirm that the CSCE plays a vitally important role in building and strengthening the new Europe. The CSCE can contribute toward strengthening political stability and security. This role is irreplaceable.

By its mandate and participation the CSCE represents a unique forum for conducting discussions. The ministers stress that the CSCE also plays an enormously important role in building a European edifice and in tackling important tasks. It is necessary to create multilateral cooperation and relations among European, transatlantic, and international organizations and institutions, and to draw on their relevant powers. The ministers asked representatives in Helsinki to study further ways of strengthening this cooperation in order to increase its effectiveness and avoid dislocation.

In their declaration the ministers mention the nonproliferation of arms and the transfer of arms. They stress that all participatory states will attend new talks on disarmament in Helsinki in 1992 and that it is necessary to continue a dialogue and prevent further conflicts. This will constitute an important step in strengthening a new order in Europe founded on cooperation. The ministers note the progress made, which was also discussed in Vienna. Consulations should be speeded up and their conclusions presented in Helsinki at the beginning of the Helsinki meeting.

The ministers agreed that an agreement in this regard will constitute an important step for development in Europe. They stress the importance of the new independent states, which must take the necessary steps to ensure that an agreement is [word indistinct]. They praise the progress made.

They talk about building confidence, which is important. They also voice the hope that an open skies agreement will be prepared before the meeting in Helsinki begins. They welcome the resolve of the participants who are holding talks about conventional weapons in Europe and hope that a treaty will be applied and put into operation. They hope that states will limit the number of their conventional weapons before the start of the meeting in Helsinki. They also stress the necessity of the new independent states participating in these talks.

They note the outcome of the seminar on military doctrine which has taken place. They note and stress the results of the meeting in Geneva of experts on ethnic minorities, the conference on human dimensions that took place in Moscow within the CSCE framework, and a seminar on democratic institutions that took place in Oslo.

The ministers also note the report on the situation in Albania. They note with satisfaction that the CSCE communications network is functioning successfully and hope that this network will be fully utilized. They thank the Netherlands for the key role that country has played in setting up the communications network.

The ministers agree that, on the basis of the results of the group of rapportuers and on the basis of possible applications on the part of the countries accepted to participate in the CSCE process, informal consultations under the leadership of the CSCE chairman should take place in the course of the ensuing meeting in Helsinki in order for cooperative assistance to these states to be established by way of diplomatic, academic, legal, and other specialists who can contribute through their advice.

The ministers furthermore discussed the establishment of an independent chamber of commerce, an open market economy in [word indistinct] states, the creation of concepts in the field of private enterprise, and support for enterpreneurial activity. The ministers welcome the development and extension of activities of the International Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with other institutions participating in similar activities.

The ministers took note of the proposal to employ a group of legal experts from participatory states who will draw up a draft statute for the CSCE for a special arbitration body to operate within the CSCE framework. The intention is to have this draft submitted in Helsinki.

The ministers agree that the next meeting of the Council of Ministers will take place in Stockholm in December 1992. The date for this meeting should be confirmed in Helsinki on the basis of proposals by the host country. The heads of states have decided to meet on the occasion of the meeting in Helsinki. The Council of Ministers proposes that this summit be held for two days at the beginning of July 1992.

That is the summary of the conclusions. Is there anyone who wants to take the floor? No? Then I will make several personal remarks.

Esteemed colleagues, the meeting of the second Council of Ministers is coming to an end. I regard it as a matter of greatest substance that Prague has confirmed unequivocally and markedly the viability and perspectives of the Helsinki process, its irreplaceability in tackling present and future problems in Europe, and its ability to adapt flexibly to the present needs of both Europe and a substantial part of Asia.

Some of you have described the results of the meeting of the second Council of Ministers as historic. One of the reasons is apparently the fact that the CSCE, by admitting 10 new members, is changing from a Euro-American institution to an Euro-Asian-American institution. This is deepening and considerably changing its role. Our responsibility grows with the greater number of problems, some of which will be new to many of us. We must accept this responsibility. Only after we have met our obligations will we be able to assess the historic significance concealed in the outcome of the current session.

Our two-day discussions show that we all fully realize this new phase in the Helsinki process. Its main direction in the coming period lies not only in strengthening the positive developmental trends in Central and Eastern Europe, but also in gradually spreading the CSCE values of democracy, human rights, and basic freedoms, based on the rule of law and the market econony. This is spreading into a new area that came into existence by the acceptance of new members. The creation of this community based on common values will not be achieved without substantial changes and adjustments to the mechanisms and working methods and without securing the CSCE institutionally, as many of you mentioned here.

We have achieved some significant progress in this direction here in Prague. However, we know that this is only one of the many steps on a long road. The instructions the ensuing Helsinki meeting is receiving from the Prague Council, which will begin its work in six weeks' time, are sufficiently specific to ensure that the second Helsinki meeting this summer will truly constitute a step forward, as President Vaclav Havel noted in this hall yesterday. It will mark the start of another chapter in the Helsinki process, culminating in transformation into a firm and functioning system guaranteeing peaceful cooperation, harmonial coexistence, and an ever deeper political integration on democratic principles. The Helsinki process contributed significantly to the defeat of the forces of the cold war. Its task now is to achieve peace. [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministers Hold News Conference

LD3101194192 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1209 GMT 31 Jan 92

[News conference by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas with foreign correspondents at the conclusion of the CSCE foreign ministers council session at the Palace of Culture in Prague on 31 January; Genscher and Ugglas remarks in German and English, respectively, with simultaneous Czech translation; correspondents' questions simultaneously translated from respective languages into Czech—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Dienstbier] The Prague session has confirmed the CSCE's ability to respond to developments in Europe with flexibility. However, future developments will show to what extent we will manage to execute the decisions made in Prague. All of us will strive for it. There might be yet another noteworthy aspect, which is that the break up of the Soviet Union and the conflict in Yugoslavia have changed considerably the original intentions concerning the preparation for the Prague session.

However, the results achieved in Prague show that the Helsinki process is capable of coping with such unexpected situations too, and this applies even to technical issues, to the issue of equipping the procedures hall with the necessary tables and chairs at the last moment. Furthermore, this meeting represents an important step on the path leading to the forming of interaction between existing international organizations and the Helsinki process.

The Prague Document enhances the standing of the commissionaires' committee, which will meet on a regular basis at least four times a year. It could meet also as an economic forum with the purpose of proposing practical steps promoting development of a market economy in Central European states and, in particular, in the new countries. A substantial step has been made toward overcoming the principle of consensus in all respects. This mechanism will have to be further perfected.

In the meantime the Council of Ministers or the commissionaires' committee can decide on the need to take political steps against a particular state, without the consent of this state, if clear, wide-ranging and irreparable violation of the undertakings of CSCE had been committed, as the document says.

[Genscher] I would like to tell the participants of CSCE process, that this conference which ended in Prague today was very important and very successful one. [passage omitted]

[Ugglas] I would add that the discussions we held for one and half days have demonstrated the existence of dynamical development of the CSCE process. I would also like to express the Swedish Government's pleasure of being the host of the next CSCE session in Stockholm at the end of this year. I think that our decision to admit a large number of new member-countries is important for the CSCE process. [passage omitted]

[RIA correspondent] A question for Mr. Genscher. Did you sign an agreement to establish diplomatic contacts with Armenia today? If so, why in particular with Armenia and not with other republics of the former

Soviet Union? Why not, for example, with Kazakhstan, where there is a German population? Thank you.

[Genscher] Indeed and it is a fact, we had talks about exchanging ambassadors and we reached an agreement on this. As far as Kazakhstan is concerned, we will still have to do this, because we have a consulate general there which will be turned into an embassy. What this means is that, in comparison with Kazakhstan, we had to elevate the relations between Germany and Armenia on a higher level.

[Unidentified correspondent] My question is addressed to all esteemed ministers. How could you assess or describe, in the context of the European security process, the latest disarmament proposals and initiatives of President Bush and President Yeltsin? Thank you.

[Dienstbier] In my opinion these initiatives alone show how times have changed, because a year or two ago we still discussed how to reduce, in a balanced way, a small percentage of nuclear weapons, while our present problem is quite different. Our problem is how to dismantle these deployed weapons. As it is turning out this problem is just as difficult, if not more difficult than the armament itself, because it too will be enormously expensive. Nevertheless, all of us should be pleased to live in the era when the problems concerning nuclear weapons are altogether different than they were as little as two years ago.

[Ugglas] As Swedish foreign minister I welcomed this initiative and I think that what is very important is that the Americans are helping us to open this window of opportunity. This is a historical moment when the entire score of states of the former Soviet Union expressed their will to be nuclear-free states. I think this represents a great opportunity. I am very pleased that both the United States and President Yeltsin are taking this opportunity.

[Genscher] I (?would like to say) that we welcome this initiative of Presidents Bush and Yeltsin, because here we can see a new thinking and a new attitude to the issue of security and because it represents a real breakthrough in nuclear disarmament. I would like to take this opportunity to note that it is equally important to implement President Bush's initiative launched in 1991 and the initiative that President Gorbachev executed.

At issue are the cuts of short-range missiles and (?tactical weapons), because these are enormous arsenals with huge destructive power. Controlling these weapons is considerably more complex than controlling strategic arms, which are discussed precisely in connection with the statements by President Bush and President Yeltsin. The initiatives of these presidents should provide impulses to conclude a (?CFE 1) Treaty and the treaty on troop reduction, which is the treaty we would like to conclude by the end of July.

We will have to make headway in all spheres, we will have to adapt it to a new situation, because we must eliminate all (?dangers). This is why I proposed that the UN Security Council, which meets in New York today, should discuss not only the issue of elimination of nuclear weapons but also the issue of nuclear know-how. So the Security Council will deal with these issues at today's session.

[Hungarian radio correspondent] I would like to asks Ministers Dienstbier and Genscher about pessimistic views about the CSCE process. The CSCE is being described as an incapable body, perceived as being clumsy in solving crisis situations during the Yugoslav crisis. [passage omitted]

[Genscher] We must and will continue to further develop the CSCE process with new impulses. Today we have taken a big and important step forward. I think that Yugoslavia is not an argument against the CSCE process—on the contrary it is an argument to strengthen it and continue this activity.

What we have experienced lately is that a reconciliation in Europe, integration of Europe, have contributed towards ending conflicts in the Third World—let us recall Namibia, Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua. If things go all right in Europe this has a positive influence also on other parts of the world.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English] I have one question for Mr. Genscher and one for Mr. Dienstbier. Mr. Genscher, do you expect talks on eliminating nuclear weapons or do you think that these will be bilateral talks—i.e. the United States and Soviet Union [as heard] discussing this? Do you expect the British and French to reduce their nuclear arsenals? [passage omitted]

[Genscher] [passage omitted] We are going to take a unilateral but parallel course of action in order not to lose time through unnecessary talks. I think that such unilateral parallel talks are the correct and best way of holding talks about the necessary subject of talks—i.e. a system to verify the eliminaton of nuclear warheads. Nevertheless, we still have time to do that. It will not be possible to get rid of those 10,000 warheads overnight. This applies to the missiles of both the United States and the Soviet Union's successors.

[Dienstbier] [passage omitted] As I have already said at the beginning the problem is somewhere else nowadays. It concerns international cooperation in finding ways to eliminate nuclear arms on European territory, both strategic and above all tactical weapons which, being small, can—if we fail to keep an eye on them—in fact reach places all over the world. Thus my view is that agreements are more likely to be concluded on cooperation in these spheres than concerning the issues how and by how many they are going to be reduced as used to be the agenda during all the talks in the past. [passage omitted]

[Radio Liberty correspondent, in English] I have two questions. At the beginning you spoke about help

extended by existing members to new members. I would like to know what the first steps will be to enable the new members to participate in the CSCE process. My second brief question is aimed at the foreign affairs ministers: When do you expect to set up your embassies in Minsk?

[Ugglas] [passage omitted] I think that one of the first steps will be sending a special mission of observers to these new countries. I think that all those new member states can take an initiative. They can ask the CSCE Secretariat, its leadership for whatever sort of help and expertise they need.

Speaking on behalf of my country, Sweden, we are fully prepared to help by sending our experts, to participate in the CSCE process. We set up an office in Warsaw. I think this is the first step and subsequently a Helsinki dialogue will follow in about six weeks, where further practical specific steps to be taken by CSCE will be discussed.

[Dienstbier] Very shortly a group of CSCE representatives will leave to visit the capitals of the new independent states to take a first hand look at what needs to be done so that a committee of commissionaires can meet and assess what steps can be taken. At this meeting I called on all the attending states to put present their proposals and to help set up these missions. [passage omitted] I can assure you that it is only technical and financial problems—as the minister speaking before me pointed out—preventing us from progressing quicker. [passage omitted]

[Genscher] On behalf of Germany I would like to point out that we had a general consulate in Minsk and we have turned it into an embassy.

[RUDE PRAVO correspondent] My first question is for Minister Genscher. My second one is for both him and Minister Dienstbier. My first question is how happy are you with the results of the Prague session as far as a debate on possibly setting up a Helsinki process peace corps is concerned? My second question is: Here in Prague you two no doubt held bilateral talks about many issues. Did you also touch on the Czechoslovak-German treaty which is being prepared?

[Genscher] [passage omitted] Speaking about peace corps I said that we were in favor of both the Blue Helmets and Green Berets—as we want peace between people as well as peace between people and nature. This is why I would like to see the Blue Helmets being joined by the Green Berets. I mentioned this already at the Moscow CSCE conference. I hope that support for this idea will grow. I am very satisfied. As far as the other question is concerned—this was a CSCE international conference and answering your question briefly I can say that of course we did.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English] My question is for both Mr. Genscher and Mr. Dienstbier. Do you expect any (?word indistinct) or any competition between the CSCE and the United Nations? As the role of CSCE is growing and will continue to grow, is there competition with the United Nations?

[Genscher] As far far as the CSCE and its range of activities are concerned first it is necessary to say that its range of activities was outlined by the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 in such a way as to ensure that all of Europe participates in this process, including non-European parts of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Canada. This geographic outlining of the sphere of its activities has not been changed by the fact that more states joined, as all the newly accepted states are the successor states of the former Soviet Union.

In this context I see neither any competition nor any contradiction between the CSCE and the United Nations because their aims do not (?contradict) each other; CSCE and [words indistinct] are in harmony with the UN's aims. CSCE is just more specific, more of an institution. We were capable in comparison [words indistinct] to draw above all on one thing—the UN statutes allow for regional association and the CSCE is such an association. It serves the spirit and aims of UN ideals. This can thus be perceived as an enrichment of these ideals.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO correspondent] I have a question for Minister Dienstbier. What was the reaction of the participants in the meeting to the concept conveyed by President Vaclav Havel yesterday which concerned functional mutual linkage between the CSCE and other European and Euro-Atlantic structures? I am specifically interested in the future role of NATO as a tool of collective defense of all countries of the Helsinki process and possibly an organizer of local security interventions should the CSCE deem it unavoidable.

[Dienstbier] In his speech President Havel looked forward, as is his custom, and this is a good thing because if we talked about what has already been agreed on there would be no sense in holding meetings. It is necessary to bring up new ideas. The idea of making use of the experiences of the Atlantic Pact and its logistics and mechanism for the resolution of certain tasks within the framework of the Helsinki process is only natural during the gradual coming together of European and transatlantic institutions.

In any case the logistics of the Atlantic Pact were used also during the war in the Middle East in the liberation of Kuwait. It had been used for the whole grand coalition and not merely for members of the pact themselves. It is necessary to realize that all these institutions, and not merely some of them, are being transformed at the present time and are seeking ways of cooperating.

[CSTK correspondent] I would like to ask whether the idea of a European confederation was aired at the committee's meeting. How distant is this idea? I would furthermore like to ask Minister Dienstbier about the content of the talks held today between Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Benelux countries.

[Dienstbier] I will start with the second question. We have met several times already in Brussels, New York, and on occasion at international conferences. The basic point of the talks was the experiences of the Benelux countries in establishing regional cooperation. They have a very long experience in what we are attempting to do, albeit in a different form with Poland and Hungary.

We also discussed the CSCE talks where we informed each other about our findings from the developments of the conference, from our talks with various ministers of the newly independent states. On the one hand this cooperation is held at the level of exchanges of information, and on the other hand representatives will met at an expert level to define areas of cooperation between these two groupings in fields where we need their knowledge and technical aid and the like.

The idea of a European confederation was not discussed but I would say that all these ideas that keep emerging and all institutions that exist—these are only various names of the process which I call the integration of integrations, which is of course a long one and which in my view must be properly channeled to ensure that we do not waste our energies and resources unnecessarily. [passage omitted]

[MACEDONIAN DAILY correspondent, in English] Mr. Genscher, when you were CSCE chairman, you supported the unity of Yugoslavia. Later you recognized only Slovenia and Croatia. Does this mean that Germany's interest ends there?

[Genscher] At the first meeting of the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers we adopted an important decision on the right of self-determination of nations. I believe that we said it was up to the nations of Yugoslavia to express themselves on their independence, and the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia is the consequence of what was said within the CSCE framework. This in turn is the consequence of the agreement reached within the European Community.

Regarding the recognition of other republics this is a matter which is currently being discussed within the European Community and a decision will be made in the way that we made decisions on other questions. No such decision has been adopted yet.

[LA STAMPA correspondent, in Italian] Can you confirm reports that the CSCE is currently discussing Armenia's request for action in Nagorno-Karabakh? If this is so, what does the CSCE think it can do within the framework of its mandate or, alternatively, what decision it has made?

[Dienstbier] The issue was raised. It will be discussed at the meeting of the senior committees.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES correspondent] My question is a brief and marginal one concerning NATO. What will be the fate of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council? My question is addressed to Ministers Genscher and Dienstbier.

[Genscher] The North Atlantic Cooperation Council (?is) a German-American initiative and ought to fill the security vacuum that was created by the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. The result of the break-up of the Soviet Union and the rise of the new states on its territory is that these states will become members of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. This means that the Cooperation Council's tasks will be expanded, that there will be more of them, so that we can discuss all relevant security issues there.

The Cooperation Council is an important element of the architecture of all Europe. It is an important element of the cooperative security policy. It is an institution which should be an expression of the new thinking, to which other structural elements of European architecture will be added. President Havel demonstrated this extremely well when he spoke about various structures, such as the CSCE, European Community, Western European Union, the Council of Europe, NATO, and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. All these are the elements which are mutually intertwined and which complement each other. They thus represent an important contribution to the entire enormous structure. The tasks of these organizations will not diminish. On the contrary, they will be bigger. This applies to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council as well.

[Slovak radio correspondent] I have a question for Mr. Dienstbier concerning the issue of consensus. Will the so-called Minus One Consensus be used in solving the Yugoslav crisis? If so, in what specific way?

[Dienstbier] As far as I know, in the meantime there are more subjects in the Yugoslav crisis, while in the Helsinki process there is, of course, one fully fledged member so far. However, this question cannot be considered yet as far as this matter is concerned. I think we must work toward all parties in the Yugoslav conflict remaining at the negotiating table and the gradual creation of mechanisms for a peaceful solution to the crisis. However, at the moment this does not affect the consensus within the CSCE framework. [passage omitted]

Bocka Interviewed on Visit to Macedonia

AU3101084592 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 24 Jan 92 p 5

[Interview with Albanian Foreign Minister Ilir Bocka by Mahi Nesimi in Skopje; date not given: "Recognition of Macedonia Depends on the Fulfillment of Europe's Criteria"]

[Text] [Nesimi] Mr. Minister, Albanian diplomats have been very lively in recent years, especially last year. They now represent a real diplomatic "ensemble." To what extent does "their music" meet the taste of the world, and that of Albania?

[Bocka] Thank you for the compliment, but it is a fact that there is an evident liveliness in Albanian diplomacy under democracy, and this is evident in the many contacts we have now, whether in bilateral relations with different countries, or in our participation in international organizations such as the CSCE, the United Nations, etc. It is a fact that we in Albania are not satisfied with what we have achieved, and this is a good sign. It is also true that the Foreign Ministry has been criticized both by the parliament and by political forces, but this has been within permissible limits and has been taken as criticism urging us to further improve our work. We have always met with understanding from our foreign partners, and I always stress in our talks that this is a new age that creates new opportunities for greater work in the future.

We are members of the CSCE, the Council of Europe, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the IMF and other important organizations that play a lively part in European political and economic life.

We have 25 embassies at present. This does not say anything, but our economic circumstances oblige us to limit the number of our embassies. We have diplomatic relations with all states, except for two or three that have no influence on world diplomacy.

[Nesimi] The democratic processes in Albania have no doubt penetrated and brought changes to this important sphere of state organization and activity too.

[Bocka] That is true. We have devoted particular care to renewing the personnel of the Foreign Ministry and have succeeded in renewing it to a certain extent. This is of course not all that easy, because the professional angle dominates here as in every other field. We nevertheless succeeded for the first time in organizing a competition for the recruitment of new diplomats for the Foreign Ministry and we think that this competition achieved its purpose of being a new method of recruitment for the diplomatic corps.

[Nesimi] Has Albanian diplomacy really got rid of the former monist and ideological system?

[Bocka] Constant efforts are being made to achieve this. Officially, we are a depoliticized ministry. The Constitution forbids any individual working in this ministry to join a political party. Others may judge the results better than we can ourselves.

[Nesimi] Your country is presently the coordinator of the Balkan conference that it is Sofia's turn to host. What preparations have been completed so far? After the events in our peninsula, what will the conference be like and how many states will participate?

[Bocka] It is true that Albania still has the role of coordinator of the Balkan movement. The fact is that last year, and especially in the last six months of the year, Balkan political activities were suspended. There were activities of other kinds, but multilateral activities were suspended mainly because of political developments in Yugoslavia.

As for the future, our desire and hope is that this Balkan cooperation will proceed on the path originally defined for it. With the birth of new independent and sovereign republics, the Balkans will have a different structure. It remains to be seen how many participating states there will be.

[Nesimi] This is the first visit of a statesman of your rank to Macedonia after 15 January. What does this mean?

[Bocka] This is a first working visit in order to talk with the Macedonian side and to set forth views about the development of relations in fields of mutual interest. The main point is that we talked openly, without any complexes about the new conditions that have been created, especially now with the emergence of new republics on the territory of what was Yugoslavia.

[Nesimi] Is this perhaps a sign that Albania will accept Macedonia's independence?

[Bocka] If we are persuaded that Macedonia meets the conditions laid down by Europe for this, I think we could recognize Macedonia, but in this specific case we would also wish to hear the views of the Albanian political forces in Macedonia, because they have their own ideas on this matter.

[Nesimi] What kind of factor does the referendum for the political and territorial autonomy of the Albanians in Macedonia represent for Albania's acceptance of Macedonia's independence?

[Bocka] I must make it clear that the referendum is an internal affair of Macedonia and of the Albanians who live in Macedonia. However, because it involves the Albanians, this matter was discussed in our talks. We have no special standpoint on this but we support the demands and desires expressed in the referendum of the Albanians in Macedonia.

[Nesimi] What is being done toward recognizing Kosovo?

[Bocka] In my view, the Republic of Kosovo is a development and enrichment of Balkan political life. The

Republic of Kosovo was born just like other republics in former Yugoslavia, in accordance with all democratic rules, in response to the determination of the people of Kosovo, and following a transparent referendum overseen by the international public. It has all the conditions and every opportunity to live alongside all the other sovereign states in this area.

[Nesimi] Macedonian Television reported that the Albanian Government has recognized the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia. Does the acceptance and recognition of Macedonia perhaps depend on Macedonia's own recognition of the Republic of Kosovo?

[Bocka] It is true that we discussed this problem with the Macedonian Government as a possibility and as a sign of emancipation showing that Macedonia is able to make mature and reasonable decisions in this direction. We also discussed this problem with Mr. Malevski [Macedonian foreign minister].

[Nesimi] The Albanians of former Yugoslavia have always counted on Albanian diplomacy to internationalize the Albanian cause, especially the question of Kosovo. How much has it done in this direction?

[Bocka] Without wishing to take a paternalistic attitude or to evade responsibility, our main objective is to establish relations between Albania and the world, but our diplomacy has made its contribution in this area too. It is up to Albanians to judge how and to what extent.

[Nesimi] In the last two days, you have met the highest Macedonian officials, the leaders of the political parties, and the Albanians' parliamentary group. How would you sum up your activities?

[Bocka] As fruitful. We have in fact stayed only 24 hours and have held many engagements, talks, and intensive discussions. I would like to emphasize my pleasure at two particular events: my meeting with Mr. Gligorov, who has a clear vision of developments in this region, and my meeting with the group of deputies of the Albanian political parties represented in the parliament, who made a strong positive impression on me because of their high level of European culture.

[Nesimi] New elections have been announced in Albania for 1 March. To what extent could they, with the formation of a new parliament and government, affect the greater internationalization of the cause of the Albanians in Yugoslavia and the Balkans?

[Bocka] First of all, we hope that the elections will help to stabilize the situation in Albania, creating a more solid and effective parliament, and creating the firm legal basis necessary for this stage of the development of a democratic Albania. This should also result in a more solid government with better political support that will be able to cope with the problems Albania has today. Other problems related to defending the Albanian cause in the Balkans and the world will depend on this, but of course not entirely on this.

[Nesimi] Current events in the Balkans necessitate a further question outside the context of your visit to Macedonia. What has been happening in Albanian-Greek relations recently?

[Bocka] We have good, correct relations with Greece. One factor contributing to this is the presence of more than 100,000 Albanian workers temporarily living and working in Greece. We have expressed our gratitude to the Greek Government for this on several occasions. However, at the same time, some unhealthy symptoms that do not help relations between our two peoples are also evident. They are evident in the form of certain irresponsible calls for territorial claims raised by certain political forces that must not in any way be identified with the Greek Government, as well as certain campaigns recently organized against our citizens in Greece which have involved their maltreatment and forced expulsion, in other words acts that do not help good relations between our two countries. Our task here is to avoid disagreements and to continue relations on the right track.

[Nesimi] To what extent do the territorial claims toward southern Albania of certain extreme Greek forces aim to compel the Albanians in the Balkans to abandon Cameria once and for all?

[Bocka] It seems to me that these territorial claims will not achieve their objective. These claims vary, sometimes becoming more frequent and sometimes disappearing entirely. We treat them with the proper seriousness but do not treat them as bigger than they are.

[Nesimi] You are moving on from Skopje, i.e. from Macedonia, to Turkey. What is the purpose of your visit to Turkey?

[Bocka] Our visit to Turkey is purely a working visit in order to exchange views with the Turkish authorities about the most recent developments in the Balkans.

Ministers Examine Food Supply, Public Order

AU3001200592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] The Presidium of the Council of Ministers held a meeting today with leaders of the executive committees of the districts of Tirana, Durres, Shkoder, Kruje, Kavaje, Lezhe, and Lushnje. Abdyl Xhaja and Zydi Pepa, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, were also present. Officials of the forces of order and the justice organs in these districts were also invited.

The meeting discussed the current public order situation, food supplies, and the enforcement of the Land Law. The progress of these matters in each district was discussed. It was pointed out that the necessary vehicles to transport and distribute the available food supplies have not been secured in some districts such as Shkoder

and Durres, while there are irregularities in the administration of these supplies in some other districts, especially Tirana.

The meeting emphasized and criticized the inexcusable delays in land distribution in the districts of Shkoder and Kruje, although work in this direction is progressing well in some other districts such as Durres, Kavaje, and Lushnje.

The meeting especially discussed problems of order and the public peace and the work of the police, the investigators, the courts, the procurators, and the executive committees' work in overseeing their activities. It was observed that there have been marked failings in this field, especially in Shkoder and Tirana.

Zydi Pepa, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, spoke at the end of the discussion. He dwelt especially on the great role the state authorities must play in all these basic problems involving the people's lives and security, and on improvements in the economic situation. He criticized on behalf of the government the executive committees of the relevant districts for shortcomings observed in supplying food, maintaining public order, and distributing land. Concentrating on the question of public order, he stressed the need for coordination between the police and the justice organs, calling their work a joint task in which each organ works in accordance with the law, without hesitation, and free from all party influence. Deputy Prime Minister Zydi Pepa also emphasized that the work of the executive committees must be free from political influence. This work must rely solely on the law, and no hesitation in enforcing the law must be permitted.

Kozloduy Power Plant 'Fault' Causes Shutdown

AU0302075192 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] At 0400 [0200 GMT] this morning a power limited use system of three hours on, one hour off has been introduced in the country. Those restrictions result from a fault in the Kozloduy nuclear power plant sixth generating unit. We have just learned that there was no accident in the unit. It was shut down earlier this morning because of a fault in one of the pumps that service the safety system. An attempt was made to repair the fault without shutting down the generating unit, but the attempt failed and the generating unit was shut down. It is expected that the fault will be dealt with within 14 days. The other generating units are functioning normally.

Earlier Said Functioning 'Normally'

AU3101193392 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth reactors of the Kozloduy nuclear power plant are functioning normally and do not show any deviations from the technological standards. With their current 2,600-megawatt power, they are supplying the country with 62.7 million kilowatt hours of energy every 24 hours.

Silistra Mayor Views Romanian Nuclear Safety

AU0202183492 Sofia BTA in English 1813 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Silistra, February 2 (BTA)—The nuclear power plant near Cernavoda must be made subject of serious talks between the Governments of Bulgaria and Romania, the mayor of the Danubian town of Silistra, Mr. Stoyan Plugarov, maintains.

In a letter to Bulgaria's prime minister, he expresses the anxiety of the region's population about the reported technological problems in the n-plant which is being constructed just several dozen miles from Silistra. Quoting features from the Romanian and the Bulgarian press, the mayor points out the intentions to use Romanian-made fuel in the plant.

According to the press, that fuel does not meet the international standards.

The mayor insists that a bilateral meeting be held on government level. Such a meeting would relieve the population's anxiety.

Silistra Council Discusses Ethnic Conflict

AU0102193092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] Last night an unknown person threw a gasoline bomb into the club of the Union of Democratic Forces in Silistra, which was recently burglarized. In addition to this, tip-offs have been received concerning politically-based interethnic conflicts in certain settlements in Silistra Municipality.

All these matters were discussed at a meeting of the Silistra Municipal Council. The members issued a declaration stating their alarm at the existence of forces that aim to destabilize the situation in the region, and appealed to citizens to keep calm and not to succumb to political bias and provocations. Such actions, the declaration states in conclusion, do not benefit any political force and cannot serve as a means to resolve the existing problems.

Recognition of Macedonia Seen as Hasty

AU0302093792 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Jan 92 p 4

[Evklid Balkanski commentary: "So Far Bulgaria Has Received Low Marks in the Lesson on Balkan Political Geometry"]

[Text] During recent months Bulgaria has travelled along the long and arduous road of acting merely as a point of reference, one of the sides of a triangle, a country and center in the political configurations of the Balkans drawn up by those outside the region. The Sofia-Athens axis existed and worked as long as the two countries perceived Turkey as a major threat, and the Islamic minorities on their territories as controlled and manipulated by Turkey.

There was a change of power in Bulgaria, the threat diminished, the axis collapsed, and our country became part of the vague, unrealized, and unrealizable axes, triangles and other figures, until the moment it was thrown the life-saving formula of "stabilizing factor in the Balkans." Every official statement on the problems of the peninsula contains the formula in question. With the announcement that we, and we alone, recognize the independence of all four of the former Yugoslav republics and guarantee the stability of the Balkans, the bankruptcy of our foreign policy developed into perversity.

Our announcement was not given any special attention by the official authorities in Skopje; the European countries said "We will wait and see," so Bulgaria was not only the first, but the only country until now, that proudly and selflessly defended its national interests. The only other example so far is Turkey's lone recognition of the North-Cypriot Turkish Republic. It is not a question of whether the stance is correct, but whether it is tenable and useful for our real national interests. So far the answer has not been in our favor.

Without being a member of any world, European, or regional organization, without actually having any substantive support, Bulgaria has rushed headlong into proving its allegiance to its brothers from Macedonia. Taken aback, touched, but not enchanted, the world declared its principled stand of wait-and-see. Greece,

which had sent signals right from the beginning of 1991 to all levels of the Bulgarian political elite that a hasty Bulgarian decision concerning the independence of Macedonia would be interpreted as a step hostile to its national interests, is in the act of slamming our door to Europe. Athens to a large extent holds the key to the European house. We ignored this and we may pay for it.

From April 1991 Bulgaria indicated in every possible way that it did not wish to talk to the leadership in Belgrade. Greece did not shy away from discussing the problems of the Balkans with the Communist Milosevic, and showed that where matters of national interest were concerned it was even ready to discuss them with the devil. It became clear to the whole of Europe, but not to Bulgaria, that the strong man in former Yugoslavia was Milosevic, but we simply had our ideological prejudices about meeting with him, forgetting that we will always have to deal with Serbia on our western border. In the entire tangled Balkan game, Romania, like the communist in the famous poem, remained silent, by declaring very significantly that it had no territorial claims against us and by speculatively supporting Belgrade in its press; however, it then proceeded to recognize Slovenia and Croatia. Turkey declares that it will recognize the independence of Skopje, naturally after talks, but in any case our stances will coincide, which in no way is accidental. Washington showers us with declarations overflowing with democratic sentiments and morality.

Mr. Stoyan Ganev's attempts to combine the incompatible, and our strenuous efforts to show that one day history will prove us right, combined with elements of moralizing directed toward Greece and Serbia are worthy of respect, but unfortunately they do not work. At the same time this highlighted the fact that the new cabinet lacked unity of action. It is obvious that Mr. Ganev is emerging as a strong figure with signs of independence within the framework of his European orientation. His stance relating to the hasty recognition of Macedonia attempted to save the country from isolation. The entire direction of current Bulgarian foreign policy on the Balkans has so far forced us into a tunnel, at whose exit inescapably stood the act of recognizing Macedonia, unilaterally and in isolation.

In a Europe where interests and power still determine the rules of the game, Bulgaria tried to give a lesson on principles and morality, but it turned out to be a poor student and now receives a low mark in the exam on Balkan political geometry. And as Dogan said, it appears that Bulgaria's road to Europe really does pass through the Bosporus. Because they will not let us through any other way....

Concern Expressed to Turkey on Border Violations

AU3101201892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted a diplomatic note to the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Sofia, drawing attention to recent incidents along the Bulgarian-Turkish land and maritime borders. Serious concern was expressed about increasingly frequent violations of Bulgarian territorial waters by Turkish fishing vessels. Confidence was expressed that the Turkish side will adopt the necessary measures to prevent similar violations in the future.

Zhelev Calls Davos Forum, Contacts 'Useful'

AU0302092092 Sofia BTA in English 0841 GMT 3 Feb 92

["President Zhelev: Misunderstandings With Greece Cleared Up"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—Late last night President Zhelyu Zhelev returned from Davos where he attended the International Economic Forum. "What did Bulgaria's foreign policy gain by the participation of the Bulgarian delegation?"—he was asked upon his return.

It was a very useful forum, we had numerous contacts with politicians from different countries, Dr. Zhelev pointed out. In his opinion, the meetings with representatives of all Balkan states, the former Yugoslav republics included, were of extreme importance. The talks with Greece's Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis helped clear up some recent misunderstandings and tensions between the two countries, Dr. Zhelev explained. He believes that the forum reflected the enormous political changes in our world.

Leaders Comment on German Freighter Interception

Calfa Calls Incident 'Peculiar'

LD3101234592 Prague CSTK in English 2144 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 31 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa tonight said he found it "peculiar" that a German-registered ship carrying Czechoslovak tanks to Syria had been intercepted on the day when a session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) took place in Prague, nearly three weeks after leaving Germany.

In a Czechoslovak television programme, Calfa referred to Thursday's report by the German DPA agency that the ship was intercepted by German warships in the Mediterranean on grounds that its cargo violated German laws on arms export control.

Calfa said the deal on the tanks was made by a government-licensed arms exporting firm, Unimpex, under the condition that the tanks would not be transported through Yugoslavia. Unimpex met the conditions for being granted the licence for the contract and the export of tanks was no longer an affair of the government, Calfa said.

Director of the arms export control department at the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Ministry, Stefan Glezgo, said shipment by the German Godewind freighter was ordered by the Prague branch of the British Meridian Transport. He said Czechoslovakia had not violated any Czechoslovak or international laws and that therefore the shipment should be returned to Czechoslovakia.

The Godewind with 16 Czechoslovak T-72 tanks aboard is expected in the Polish port of Szczecin next week, according to DPA.

Baksay Says Law Not Breached

LD0202220692 Prague CSTK in English 2007 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 2 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay today said neither the Czechoslovak Government nor Czechoslovak producers have breached their duties. The sale of 250 tanks to Syria violates neither Czechoslovak laws nor international regulations, he added.

In a television programme reviewing the past week, Baksay was referring to the interception in the Mediterranean on Thursday of a German ship carrying 16 Czechoslovak-made tanks to Syria.

Baksay said before the sale was authorised last year, "we weighed very precisely the situation which has arisen in Slovakia in consequence of very quick conversion (of the arms industry to peace programmes - ed.)".

He said the single shipment of 250 tanks was to help tackle unemployment in central Slovakia.

Until 1989, Czechoslovakia was a large arms exporter. Now it is facing massive financial and social problems in converting the arms industry which in Slovakia alone employs about 100,000 people.

Baksay said the execution of the deal was undertaken by the Slovak firm "Unimpex" which asked the Czech company "Omnipol" to ensure transport. Omnipol turned to the British "Meridian transport" which uses the forwarding services of the Polish firm "Intersped". A German ship was hired for the transport of the tanks, Baksay said.

It was the German ship which violated Germany's transport regulations, he added.

Foreign Trade Spokesman on Tanks

LD0102000292 Prague CSTK in English 1152 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 31 (CSTK)—Sixteen Czechoslovak T-72 tanks aboard a German ship intercepted by the German naval fleet in the Mediterranean do not come from the armament of the Czechoslovak Army but directly from their producer—ZTS Martin, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Egon Lansky told CSTK today.

Referring to yesterday's report by the German news agency DPA about "tanks from the armament of the Czechoslovak Army", Lansky stressed the Czechoslovak Army does not export any tanks nor any other weapons. The intercepted shipment was part of exports of Czechoslovak tanks to Syria directly from the ZTS Martin (Central Slovakia), under a contract concluded last year. Sale of arms from the armament of the Czechoslovak Army would be tantamount to a breach of the relevant international agreement on tactical arms reduction. Czechoslovakia does not do anything like that, Lansky said.

The ZTS concluded a contract with Syria on the export of 250 tanks, under a licence exceptionally granted by the Czechoslovak Government last year. Until the fall of the communist regime in 1989 Czechoslovakia had been a large exporter of weapons. Now it faces massive problems in converting the armament industry to peace production.

"From the day the licence was granted, this is no longer an affair of the Czechoslovak Government, and all that follows is handled by the company that made the deal," Lansky told CSTK Thursday.

The shipment of tanks has been officially announced, the sale has been mediated by the Slovak foreign trade company "Unimpex", Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay told a news conference today. Referring to Thursday's interception in the Mediterranean of a German ship carrying 16 Czechoslovak-made

tanks to Syria, Baksay said Czechoslovakia, both its government and business dealers, has in no case breached international or Czechoslovak laws on arms exports.

He said he had approved the export of 252 tanks to Syria in view of problems linked to the conversion of the ZTS Martin's arms production which causes high unemployment. Transport of the tanks was arranged by the Czechoslovak "Omnipol" firm which used the services of the British "Meridian Transport" and the Polish "Intersped" firms.

In Baksay's view, the present problem may have arisen from the fact that the German "Godewind" ship carrying the tanks did not know German regulations (German laws prohibit transport of weapons aboard German ships).

The director of the "Unimpex" firm, Martin Milan Varecha, told CSTK the export of tanks to Syria was based on a licence granted in the first half of 1991. At first tanks were sent via Yugoslavia but the route had to be changed due to unrest there. Since all documents needed for the export of special equipment are in order, the current problem concerns the shipper, he said.

Varecha voiced surprise that the ship was intercepted only in the Mediterranean although the loading of the tanks in the Polish port of Szczecin (as a land-locked country Czechoslovakia uses Polish ports) was known and the ship had allegedly stopped in Hamburg.

Havel, German FDP Chairman Discuss Treaty

LD0202165392 Berlin ADN in German 1554 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] Prague (ADN)—The relations between the CSFR and Germany and the problems surrounding the German-Czech treaty were the focus of talks today when CSFR President Vaclav Havel received Free Democratic Party [FDP] Chairman Otto Graf Lambsdorff in Prague. According to presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky, Lambsdorff said he assumes the Sudeten Germans do not really understand that the reasons for their exclusion from the auctions in the framework of privatization in the CSFR is not because they are Sudeten Germans. All foreigners and also former Czechoslovakian citizens who are living abroad are also excluded from participation in this privatization. It is possible that the Czechoslovak side did not correctly explain that this was not a matter of discrimination against the Sudeten Germans, said the FDP chairman. The decision of the government coalition to sign the treaty was welcomed by the German people, Lambsdorff continued. He hopes the document will be ratified by both parliaments before June.

The FDP leader arrived in the Slovak capital of Bratislava yesterday for a three-day CSFR visit where he talked to political and industrial representatives on the fundamentals of liberal social and economic policies. This morning he met Frantisek Miklosko, Slovak parliamentary president. They discussed the situation in the former Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia as well as the situation in Slovakia.

Spacek on Influence of German Capital in Economy

AU3101135792 Prague CSTK in English 1333 GMT 28 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 28 (CSTK)—Germany will be Czechoslovakia's number one economic partner in the future because of its geographical position and economic potential, Czech Finance Minister Karel Spacek said in an interview, carried in today's issue of the daily "SVOBODNE SLOVO".

He was hinting at the recent debates in the media and the public that Czechoslovakia's national economy is being swallowed up by German capital.

1,000 million USD were invested in Czechoslovakia in 1991, 80 percent of which was German capital. The biggest deals were made by the Volkswagen manufacturer which created a joint venture with the Skoda car maker of Mlada Boleslav, Central Bohemia, and the Bratislava automaker "BAZ", and the Siemens company, which became a partner of the transport and energy divisions of the Skoda engineering plant based in Plzen, West Bohemia, and in Prague. In January 1992 Mercedes-Benz concluded a three-way project with the Czech lorrymaker Avia Praha and LIAZ Jablonec.

Spacek said Germany is an economic giant while Czechoslovakia's economy is weak so far and badly needs investment. But it has to attract investment from other countries, too, so that it be politically and economically protected in the future, he stressed.

Nevertheless, Germany will play a major role for German investors are the most familiar with the situation in Czechoslovakia, can best employ its relatively cheap and skilled work force, and make use of the short distances between the two countries, Spacek said.

German businessmen are well aware that Czechoslovakia is a gateway to East and Southeast European markets, now weak and shattered but potentially prospective, Spacek said.

Commenting on the fears of an excessive participation of German capital in Czechoslovakia, Spacek said they partly stem from that they could negatively influence certain pending questions in Czechoslovak-German relations, for instance those surrounding the signing of a new Czechoslovak-German treaty.

Sudeten Germans are pressing for the treaty to provide for the restitution of their property nationalised after they were transferred in the wake of World War Two under the Potsdam Conference protocols.

Another cause for fears may arise from excessive demands accompanying bids by certain German firms, Spacek said.

According to the Czech economic daily "HOSPODARSKE NOVINY" of January 8, Mercedes-Benz linked the three-way project with demands including tax reliefs throughout ten years, exemption from customs and other import duties for Mercedes-Benz supplies to Czechoslovakia, imposition of a 40 percent tax on imports of utility automobiles to Czechoslovakia and others. These conditions have been rejected by Czech Industry Minister Jan Vrba as unacceptable.

In the interview, Spacek said we must not allow Czechoslovakia to become a "backyard" of the German economy and added he thinks these questions will subside as the process of European integration deepens.

"Our good chance is that the question of the "nationality" of capital and political ambitions connected with it will lose its sense in the process", Spacek said.

Report on KGB Involvement in 1989 Events

AU3101135992 Prague CSTK in English 2143 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 29 (CSTK)—A parliamentary commission entrusted with investigating the events in Prague of November 17, 1989 today released its final report, in which it says that student protests on that day were spontaneous and that the Soviet KGB secret police was not involved.

The report says that opposition leaders had focused on December 10, Human Rights Day, to express their discontent with the communist government, and did not incite the student protests. Brutal police suppression of a student march on November 17, 1989 sparked off a wave of demonstrations which led to the fall of communist rule in Czechoslovakia.

Parliament deputies, who received the report today, will discuss it on February 1.

Havel Interviewed on Current Issues

LD0202175992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by station editor Stanislava Dufkova in Havel's home in Prague on 1 February: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] Mr. President, this week you were an active participant in two important events. It is Saturday morning and we are in your home. Both these events are now history. Could you not return at least briefly to the Conference on Security and Cooperation (CSCE) in Europe and the appointment of judges of the CSFR Constitutional Court? Your speech at the conference was even assessed as ahead of its time.

[Havel] As regards the conference, I should perhaps emphasize that from the outset of our democratic revolution we have placed great hopes in the Helsinki process and oriented ourselves to it. Czechoslovakia has put forward many initiatives. It is not just chance that the permanent secretariat of this conference has its seat in Prague, that our country currently holds the chair and that this particular conference took place here. This is because we have felt from the beginning that those big changes brought about by the collapse of communism call for a radically new order in Europe, a completely new system of security and political ties. If we are to prevent a chaotic situation from emerging over a long period of time, a situation full of various frictions and local conflicts, tension, and chaos, the whole European political and security order must be strengthened in a certain way on the basis of the new order which logically must be linked with other parts of the world.

It would appear that the Helsinki process is a suitable ground for gradually creating something like this, as a loose background to all other integrational processes and structures in Europe. This is a long-term vision and direction about which we have talked on many occasions. I already spoke on this subject in Strasbourg about two years ago.

It is necessary to say that this conference realized to a certain extent that it was necessary to proceed along this path. This was another small step in the direction of a certain strengthening of ties. It is precisely the post-communist countries which feel this urgency and it is they who are calling for proceding in this direction. This will, however, be a long process. Although I mentioned some concrete matters which can be carried out in the foreseeable future, I also spoke about this longer-term perspective and about the historic purpose which the CSCE should have in Europe, noting that it is to be the particular tool which will create the new, so to speak, post-war arrangements in Europe.

[Dufkova] Many problems have now emerged around the parliament—a new electoral law was adopted, the Devaty affair emerged. [passage omitted]

[Havel] Nobody is, of course, satisfied with the results of the 20th plenary session. The matter is not just that it did not adopt my legislative bills. More important is the fact that unfortunately my fears that the parliament is to a certain degree blocked were confirmed. In substance it is not capable of adopting constitutional laws. [passage omitted]

The electoral law was amended and thus we are going to vote in the same way as we did last time, with certain small changes. I do not consider this to be a catastrophe that will last for ever. In democratic countries the issue of amending an electoral law is usually discussed for years, and it takes several years of effort to change such a law. It is not over yet; I am of course going to make an effort to change our electoral law in the course of the next election period in whatever field I am active. I am going

to fight for it in one way or another, and it can happen that in the following elections we will be voting according to a different system.

In this situation the Parliament did not decide about a new form of the Federal Assembly, it did not gather the courage to change the electoral law. Everything is still as it used to be and we can only hope that the National Councils will reach some sort of an agreement—and time is running out—and that this will lead to progress in forming our new constitutional system and setup.

As far as the affair you mentioned is concerned, I do not intend and it is not my task to assess whether deputies, members of the commission [for investigating the events of 17 November 1989] were in breach of any regulations or not by letting American Television in and showing the [screening] files on it. This must be decided by the Parliament, immunity committee, or perhaps court. I am simply not going to get involved in this.

As far as this matter is concerned, I just want to say one thing. Television as well as some other mass media behaved as free entities and in a way courageously, as it should be normal. They did what independent mass media should do. I am a bit alarmed that this entire affair is now being used against mass media and voices have emerged describing it as a premeditated campaign and witch-hunting aimed at the members of the commission, and so on, ending up blaming journalists for the whole thing. They have simply fulfilled their duty and provided objective information. What I do not like is that those who care about improving our society, who care about ending all the totalitarian practices, who strive to part company with people who were in any way linked to the totalitarian regime, suddenly begin to complain about mass media and their freedom as soon as the mass media reveal something inconvenient for them.

[Dufkova] Now to a subject for which many listeners have probably been waiting. In response to my promptings, Mr. President said in the course of the last conversation that, should he find that unlawful actions have been taken in regard to arms exports, he would draw political conclusions from it. Has the time not come, Mr. President?

[Havel] I have of course requested that the reports which appeared, especially in the magazine RESPEKT and elsewhere, be investigated. I have found the following: At this moment it cannot be said that someone has exported arms from Czechoslovakia without the consent of the state. Such a case has not been established. Nonetheless, it is true that various shipments are under consideration which are unacceptable to the state and which the state cannot approve, and that various ways are being sought of bypassing the state interest.

I invited Prime Minister Calfa to the castle and we discussed this subject rather extensively. We agreed that there are no political consequences of which I have spoken at this point in time, and that therefore there is no case for making any personnel changes at present. No visibly guilty party exists which could be prosecuted for breaking law or regulation. The blame for the mistakes lies rather with the system. We therefore agreed that we will endeavor to bring order into this matter as quickly as possible in order to deter all those who might want to export arms illegally.

It would appear that until we have the relevant law, and there exist at present various impediments which seem to make it difficult for the relevant law to get through parliament soon, then in my view it is possible to take an administrative decision, as has been the case up to now, under which all such shipments would have to be approved by the Council of the Defense of the State, which is in my view the appropriate institution for this purpose because representatives of both republics, the premiers, sit there.

To a certain extent this matter also comes under republican jurisdiction, and to a certain degree also under the jurisdiction of the Federation. From this viewpoint it would probably be a good thing if the Council of the Defense of the State simply approved every shipment. This of course does not affect contracts that have already been approved and concluded. If we have signed a contract for the shipment of a certain number of tanks to Syria, then this is a contract that has been signed properly and we will honor it. Nonetheless, I hope that this is the last contract of this kind.

It appears to me that the state must carry through its will in these matters, that the basic decision on conversion cannot be changed, that it is really necessary to put to use all those billions that have been earmarked for conversion, that one must not avoid the issue and continue to hope that in the end some country will be found which will purchase our obsolete tanks and that the issue is not so hot and that we will simply go on.

It is not possible to export arms to countries which support terrorism or to countries that are at war. We have clearly said that we want to build a democratic, peace-loving state founded on the idea of human rights which will contribute to disarmament processes to insure peace in the world. We cannot quit this policy. That would be suicidal for us.

[Dufkova] The final question, Mr. President. Do you think that we have already reached the point when changes are irreversible both in the economy and in politics?

[Havel] I am convinced that the development in our country is irreversible. One can imagine various kinds of chaos we may yet encounter. One can imagine that a very unstable and fragmented parliament will come out of the election. One can imagine that it will be difficult to put a coalition together. One can imagine that governments will fall, that left-wing governments will be replaced by right-wing ones. One can still imagine many dramatic ferments in the case of the constitutional issues, in regard to our constitutional setup. One can also imagine that

authoritative leaders with certain undemocratic inclinations will emerge. I hope that all this will not come to pass, although one can imagine that it may.

None of this, however, means that the basic development could take a peculiar turn backwards, that we could go back to a totalitarian system and centralized economy. This is simply unthinkable for many reasons, and in particular if the common state is preserved. If we split up, the situation will of course be much more serious. This is because these two small countries with an economy that is in a state of crisis and which is being rebuilt as a whole, with economies that are so integrated, and with an unstable political scene would face a far more difficult situation, and the various dangers about which I have spoken would of course be far greater in such a case.

Carnogursky on Elections, Economic Situation

LD0202224792 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by correspondent Lubomir Lintner; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lintner] Mr. Premier, several days ago you met a group of Austrian journalists and answered their question in connection with domestic political events. The daily NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG published your thoughts under the title "Slovakia—The Worst Still To Come." What then does a Slovak citizen still expect to come?

[Carnogursky] [passage omitted]

In the interview granted to a group of Austrian journalists visiting Slovakia, I said that Slovakia's economic situation has not as yet stabilized and that a further drop in industrial and agricultural output can still be expected. From this view, a rise in the unemployment rate can still be anticipated. On the other hand, during my recent visits, I found out for myself that the opportunities for the enterprises that can produce well and that can market their goods properly are better than they were. [passage omitted]

At the same time, there exist vacancies, which are difficult to fill. The Jas Bardejov enterprise had to employ a workforce from Transcarpathian Rus because no one was interested in working there, although unemployment is as high as 20 percent. [passage omitted]

[Lintner] In the last poll carried by the Independent Social Analysis, the following fact caught my attention: Up to 66 percent of the people think the problems we are having today could be resolved if a strong personality with sufficient powers were at the head. What would you say to this fact?

[Carnogursky] We went through more than 40 years of a strong regime possessing broad powers over citizens and at the head of that regime there always stood a strong personality against whom no one dared to argue. It is precisely such strong regimes that have brought us to such a blind alley from which we are now extricating ourselves with such large difficulties. Surely a strong personality with sufficient powers would be a very good solution if such a strong personality succeeded doing the right policy which in our geographical area means avoiding strong words but seeking strong opportunities.

[Lintner] In connection with this year's election in our country, fears have been voiced of late from the so-called Polish model, which means a large spectrum of political parties, a low participation by voters, their fragmentation and ensuing from it difficulties in constructing a functioning government. With such fears President Havel, too, justified his draft bills which he had submitted to the Federal Assembly. The poll gathered by the Public Opinion Institute at the beginning of February showed that 69 percent of citizens were determined to go to the polls, 19 percent would decidedly not vote, and 12 percent of those questioned were hesitant so far. How do you, Mr. Premier, view the participation or nonparticipation of citizens in the coming elections?

[Carnogursky] It is in the interest both of the government and the citizens, and the republic in general, that the greatest number of citizens take part in the election because a sufficiently high numbers of voters will provide a true picture of the political composition of the population, a true picture of the strength of individual parties, and only an election mirroring the true views of the population are able to send to the parliament parties which will then represent these citizens. Participation of citizens in the election at around 80 percent would be high participation and would be good participation.

[Lintner] Public debate on the draft of the constitution of the Slovak Republic, drawn up by a commission of the Slovak parliament, is coming to an end today. Variant versions of the text of some chapters of the draft constitution provide an opportunity ranging from a federation to an independent state. Is it realistic at all for such a conceived draft to have an opportunity in some of the variants to win a qualified, that is three-fifths majority?

[Carnogursky] This will now be the question which the Slovak National Council will have to face. The draft of the constitution drawn by a commission of the Slovak National composed of representatives of all parliamentary parties has four basic variants but there are further variants in regard to individual provisions so that in a certain combination there could be more variants. I believe that a three-fifths majority will be found among Slovak National Council's deputies which will approve the Slovak constitution containing all powers that will be vested with the Slovak Republic with the possibility that a section of these powers may be transferred to the common state by way in a treaty with the Czech Republic.

[Lintner] One of the variants of the proposed constitution talks about a president of Slovakia. It came in fact out of the proposal made by the Christian Democratic Movement [CDM]. During your visit to Kosice yesterday you personally spoke against the creation of the office of the Slovak president. Last Thursday I read the following in the daily MLADA FRONTA DNES: "Jan Carnogursky said that the CDM will support that variant which talks about the president of Slovakia." On two subsequent days, newspapers reported two contraditory attitudes of yours. What is your real position, Mr. Premier?

[Carnogursky] In Kosice I did not speak against the office of the Slovak president. On the contrary, the CDM and I personally are pushing through the variant of the constitution which contains all powers but which also has a complete system of organs of the Slovak Republic including the office of the president. In my speech in Kosice, I proposed further consideration that the office of the president, although anchored in the constitution, would not be occupied while the President of the common state still functions. This is purely for the reason that we simply should not have an inflation of presidents because an inflation of presidents [as heard] lowers the respect for the office itself. This was my basic concern.

[Lintner] We have already recalled your visit to the East Slovak region during the preceding days. How did you perceive the political climate there during your meetings? Frequently we have encountered the observation that that region's outlook is different from the one, let us say, in Bratislava whether in regard to the constitutional set up but also in regard to aspects of internal political developments in our country. What, therefore, has been your finding?

[Carnogursky] This was not my first visit to eastern Slovakia and will not be the last one either. Eastern Slovakia really has a partially different political climate than Bratislava or western Slovakia. To simplify the matter somewhat it could be characterized that supporters of the common state have stronger positions there. [passage omitted)

[Lintner] In one of your speeches you indicated a possibility of four-sided regional cooperation.

[Carnogursky] Yes, but this idea did not originate with me because east Slovak districts, Michalovce, Humenne, Trebisov, and I believe others, came out with an initiative to create such regional cooperation at border areas with Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, and Slovakia. This is one economic area which is linked mutually by strong bonds and I believe that it would be a very good and useful thing to create such a zone of economic cooperation and the government will do everything possible to ensure that the project is carried out.

Calfa Interviewed on Constitutional Matters

LD0202212192 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1850 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Interview with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] This week the Federal Assembly rejected the last of the proposals put forward by the president. Mr. Premier, how do you assess this fact?

[Calfa] The president put forward a certain set of proposals by which he reacted to a possible situation that might come about if decisionmaking processes were paralyzed in the parliament, in particular in regard to constitutional matters including the country's constitutional arrangement. The parliament rejected all these proposals one after another. In the case of some of them, it would be rather interesting to find out the reason why the parliament did so because the president's proposals went some way towards meeting demands made by the two republics, for instance in the case of the ratification of the Constitution by the National Councils and the like. We heard statements made by political parties, although not from the parliamentary soil, that this was done first of all to create fully fledged entities and these entities would only afterwards negotiate further matters and that what in fact was happening was decisions were being made about entitities that are not as yet fully fledged. I personally believe that this is an exceptionally false view because the parliament is made, in fact, of deputies who had been elected in the last election. It is truly necessary to consider what would happen if no constitutional amendments could be passed. The present Constitution would then apply. Therefore, the parliament, by not approving the president's proposals, paradoxically, in effect confirmed the present constitutional state.

[Correspondent] At the start of our interview we in effect once again touched on the issue of the constitutional arrangement. According to public opinion polls, the people's primary interest is not in the constitutional set up. They are more interested in social guarantees and the like. Do you not have the feeling that a gap is growing between politics and ordinary citizens?

[Calfa] This is a question which comes right out of my soul. I truly believe that this is a problem that has been forced on us. I would put it this way: When we began to tackle economic issues, we were given the dilemma of how to deal with the view which says that it is necessary to say who it is who is going to tackle these economic issues. Who will tackle them on the Federal level, who in Slovakia, and who in the Czech lands. Only afterwards shall we be able to tackle these issues. This was the stand that emerged from the national level and we have maneuverd ourselves into a position in which for the past two years we have been doing nothing else but

deciding who in fact is going to tackle these questions. To decide who is going to tackle these issues is in fact making decisions about officials, ministries, the state level, and somehow we have placed to a secondary position the tackling of issues that affect ordinary people, although we of course are continually endeavoring to tackle all these issues. After all, the Federal Government has in fact prepared the basis of the economic reform and is carrying it out, recently in the coupon privatization. There is, however, no doubt that we have been drawn away from fully concentrating on the resolution of economic, social, structural, and other issues. Questions of constitutional arrangement are continually being foisted on us, and one has the feeling that this is being done intentionally.

[Correspondent] At the present time, when this interview is being broadcast, the public debate on the Slovak constitution is coming officially to an end. The Slovak parliament will decide in March which of the four individual alternatives will come into effect. What will happen if by that time the National Councils fail to reach an agreement on the treaty? After all, the Slovak constitution is tied up to the treaty and is linked throught that treaty to the Federal Constitution and Federal bodies.

[Calfa] I would answer it like this: A wave is currently running through Europe in the wake of which combined states are collapsing and new states and new groupings of states are emerging. It would be naive to think that this wave will not hit Czechoslovakia. It will hit it; it has already hit, and that wave will continue to run. There is a lesson from that wave and that is in the case of combined states what is decisive is the will of those states which compose that combined state, which in our case means the will of our two republics. It would be naive to think that we will be able do anything unless it is the desire of the republics, if it runs counter to their desire. I believe that the basis of this combined state is the expression of the desire of these republics and nothing else will replace it. If we influenced it in an unnatural way, another political team might emerge after the election which once again will make strong demands or will have a linchpin nationalistic program, and will sweep away the results that will not correspond to that program. Therefore, in my view, it is really necessary to proceed from the premise that it will be the republics which will play the prime role and that they will in the end have to take a decision. And since you have asked about the Slovak constitution, I personally believe that all of us will have no other option but to accept the decision which the Slovak National Council will make. Its decision will have to be accepted by the Czech bodies and in the end also by the Federal bodies. I see no way in which we could reject a decision made by the Slovak National Council. Therefore, as regards the Slovak constitution, it is really up to the Slovak National Council which of the four variants it will adopt.

[Correspondent] And could the situation not emerge in which two sets of laws would be applicable in Slovakia?

[Calfa] Our present Constitution, our common state's Constitution, in fact, does not allow one thing: It does not allow for a constitutional mean to split, or break up, this state. Thus, we should consider any step aimed at this to be unconstitutional.

On the other hand, we have a composite state at present and if one of the republics of this composite state feels it should have a possibility to leave this common state we should probably do everything in order to provide a constitutional framework for such an act. From this point of view if such a constitution is adopted, we should immediately begin to discuss how to change the Federal Constitution, and after all how to approve such a decision in order to change it into a legal state also on the Federal level—though at present I do not know what course of action would be taken by the Czech side. My view is that a different course of action is simply not possible.

[Correspondent] Let us change the subject: This week's demands by Mr. Marecek, who is on hunger strike, were discussed a lot. His demands above all concern the so-called Law of the Truncheon and in this context your name is very often mentioned, as in the time when the government of the day adopted the Law of the Truncheon you were a member of that government in charge of the legislation sphere. Did the government have a say at all in this law and its drafting?

[Calfa] This is a rather serious matter. I would like to say two things. First, Mr. Marecek is entitled to the right to put forward his view and behave as he does. I even have to say that in a way I respect such a stand, which is abiding by one's principles and is taken I would say to the extreme, as Mr. Marecek hints at. Mr. Marecek has never assumed any position regarding me, he put forward his demands, and asked the appropriate bodies to deal with them. [passage omitted]

This is one thing. Nevertheless, the strange thing is that various political groupings and political parties behave like parasites, hyenas, using Mr. Marecek's views in an attempt to make capital out of his stand, wrapping their own ideas on Mr. Marecek's stand. One such idea is my personal involvement in the Law of the Truncheon. Our press and television has already put forward several times the view that this was a matter for the Federal Assembly and its presidium and not a matter for either me or the government. My personal view is that I have nothing more to say other than that I am really not linked to this matter at all and whoever links me with this matter is interested not in my connection with the Law of the Truncheon but in totally different political aims—which should be stated by them.

Hungary, EC Blamed for Helicopter Crash

LD0102174692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] According to the report of the official Yugoslav investigating committee, not only the Federal Air Force, but Hungary and the EC observers were responsible for the downed helicopter tragedy at the beginning of January. Five EC observers died.

The report states that the flight had not been authorized, and the Hungarian authorities failed to inform the organs controlling the regional airspace. The document admits that the Yugoslav Air Force also fired in haste. The investigating committee emphasizes that despite the warning about flights being forbidden, the EC observers indicated they would carry out the flight at their own risk.

The report accuses the Hungarian authorities of neglecting their duties on several counts. According to the investigations they also breached international regulations when they did not inform Belgrade air control of the arrival time of the helicopter at the border.

Experts To Discuss Yugoslav Report

LD0202220392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Interview with Judit Juhasz, Hungarian Government spokeswoman, by correspondent Richard Robert Kiss; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The official Yugoslav investigating commission holds Hungary and the EC observers responsible for the tragedy of the helicopter which was shot down early in January. The report admits that the Yugoslav air force opened fire in too great a hurry, but it states that permission had not been given for the flight, and moreover, the Hungarian authorities had not informed the organs controlling the air space. Richard Robert Kiss questioned government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz.

[Juhasz] What is decisive in flights and in such technical operations is not emotions, so much, and not viewpoints, but rather monitorable and traceable technical elements and elements concerning instructions. I believe that these must be placed side by side, and these have already happened, on our part. I believe that it is not worthwhile, now, to speak at length. Their report has arrived. The Hungarian experts will take it and then they will speak.

[Kiss] After the Yugoslavs expressed their positions, views, at first, the EC the following day said that in their view the Hungarian flight controllers were in no way at fault for what happened. Now, the EC representatives have not said anything; however, the report of the official Yugoslav investigating commission places responsibility on them and the Hungarians for the accident.

[Juhasz] Look, I believe that the sender of the report does not set a deadline—the EC and the Hungarian side can choose, and they will pick when to reply, when they will consider this report worthy of attention. We await developments.

Jeszenszky Address at UNSC Summit Reported

LD3101220592 Budapest MTI in English 2138 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] New York, January 31 (MTI)—Giving the UN a greater role to protect human and minority rights and sending of peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia were urged by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in an address to the UN Security Council summit today.

Jeszenszky was speaking as a personal emissary of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who had to stay away because of health reasons.

UN peacekeeping acts are no longer considered outside efforts to control conflicts and preserve the status quo, but active steps resolving crises and asserting democratic values and human rights, Jeszenszky said.

Hungary, as a Security Council member, wants to help embody this new philosophy of peacekeeping in efficient regulations.

For Hungary, protecting human and minority rights is more than a legal and humanitarian issue: It is an integral part of international security. Therefore, a firm assertion of these rights by the UN Security Council is indispensable, Jeszenszky said.

About the Yugoslav situation, Jeszenszky called attention to the violations of rights affecting ethnic Hungarians living in Serbia's Vojvodina region and along the Croatian front lines. Minority rights can only be guaranteed by territorial and cultural autonomy, Jeszenszky said.

One thing the UN Security Council should do, in close cooperation with the EC, is monitor the developments and send observers and peacekeeping forces to all crisis areas in Yugoslavia, Jeszenszky said.

Hungary supports the sending of peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia and an arms delivery ban, hopefully to be observed by all UN member states.

It would probably promote peace to admit the former Yugoslav republics to the UN, either way negotiations between Yugoslavia's peoples and minorities are essential.

Regional peace can only come through guaranteeing the current borders from forcible change and recognizing peoples' right to autonomy, Jeszenszky said. He proposed setting up a mechanism to supervise the future implementation of any agreements to this effect.

Hungary supports former Soviet republics joining international cooperation and the UN's work because of the

help towards resolving problems of security and arms reduction, and guaranteeing human rights, Jeszenszky said.

On Principle of Noninterference

LD0102093792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Excerpt] The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs believes that the UN must leave behind the principle of non-interference in internal affairs because there are several such issues in which an international stand is justified. Geza Jeszenszky said this after the New York summit. [passage omitted]

On UN Rapid Deployment Force

LD0102113292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent Gyoergy Bolgar on the UN Security Council summit in New York]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Russian President Yeltsin, French President Mitterrand, and Geza Jeszenszky urged the creation of a permanent UN armed force and France even offered 1,000 soldiers for this purpose. [passage omitted]

After the session ended, I asked the Hungarian foreign affairs minister about the chances for adoption of the proposal.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] It has a political and financial side. Even making the political aspect accepted is not easy because, after all, implied reservations were raised here in connection with the proposal; for example, there are countries which fear that such a force should appear whereas—at the same time—the decisive majority of the international community believes that there is reason for it. At the same time, taking everything into consideration, in my view the political conditions by and large exist or can be created within a short time—the financial conditions are more difficult. [end recording]

By the way, in his address, the Hungarian foreign minister urged the most rapid deployment of UN forces in Yugoslavia and the consideration of the notion that UN forces should be sent to all those Yugoslav areas where tensions or conflicts may arise. In connection with this he called attention to the anxiety with which people in Hungary view the sufferings of the people living in what was once Yugoslavia, including the continuing infringement of the human and minority rights of the several million Magyars.

Jeszenszky Interviewed After Summit

LD0102234492 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] New York, February 1 (MTI)—'We came up against the problems of the world at the summit of the United Nations Security Council, and with the huge possibilities apparent after the collapse of Communism,' Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told Hungarian journalists following the extraordinary session of the UN Security Council's member states, late on Friday evening.

'Very many original ideas, and proposals that go beyond the customary expressions, were raised. Everyone intends a new role for the UN, and almost everyone believes that the world organization will now be able to realize all which its founders wished.

'All participants stressed the need to progress beyond what was possible to date, as obstacles that paralysed the world, the East-West conflict, have been eliminated. At the same time, certain dogmas should also be discarded, for instance, the principle of non-interference into internal affairs. There are many issues in which international interference is justified. The need for preventive diplomacy was voiced in almost all contributions, and perhaps this is the most important result of the day, as we face the dangers of conflicts, but these can be prevented,' the foreign minister said.

In answer to MTI's question, on whether the meeting had resulted in progress with regard to Yugoslavia or not, Jeszenszky said he was able to discuss the matter with several people. He believes there is a fairly extensive agreement in the matter, both from the part of the Europeans and in the United Nations. What is important now is for all sides concerned in the crisis to approve the internationally proposed solution, and to realise that their demands cannot go beyond the rights also approved by the UN, and the EC's peace plan. Inasmuch as all sides are ready to grant the minorities on their areas the same they demand for themselves, if they are serious about the goals for which others fought, then the crisis can be solved, Jeszenszky said.

Discussing the conditions of deploying permanent UN peace-keeping forces, Jeszenszky said it is difficult to have the proposal accepted politically as well, and reservations were voiced at the session, too. There are countries that have fears about the presence of such forces. However, the overwhelming majority of the international community believes that the political difficulties can be overcome, as the crises of our days also clearly indicate that the forces are needed.

The creation of the financial conditions is more difficult, but this should also be solved, for if there were huge sums available for war preparations, there should be sources to uphold peace as well.

The Hungarian foreign minister also spoke about the view, mainly represented by China, that the relation between North and South, the industrialised and the developing world holds out the threat of a new crisis. Jeszenszky said it will hopefully soon become clear for the developing world that the disappearance of the East-West conflict will be a major advantage for them, too, as they also suffered from the burdens of local wars and armament.

Jeszenszky left New York for Budapest shortly after the end of the session.

Antall Discusses Role of UN, Summit Meeting

LD0202221892 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall gave an interview to the weekly political programme of Hungarian Television, A Het (The Week), in which he discussed the role of the United Nations organization in connection with the week-end summit of the Security Council member states.

In answer to whether he sees a chance for the UN to set up a permanent armed force, which would uphold order in the world, Antall said that the changes in the world's political feature, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the emergence of new circumstances make it possible for a unified world political picture to come about, within which there can exist unified security interests.

"But the major question still arises, whether the UN has the financial sources necessary to cover the costs. It cannot do this in itself, as the UN revenues are small. The actual question is whether the UN will be able to set up such troops. The readiness for this does exist, as France was not the only country to offer immediately mobilizable troops."

Antall said that, on the long-range, one of the major dilemmas is how to cover the costs of the permanent UN armed forces.

The Security Council session heard, and Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky also reported this to UN Secretary-General Butrus Ghali in the course of their meeting, that the interests of Hungarians living beyond Hungary's borders, their human rights are repeatedly violated. Jeszenszky called for assistance in remedying this situation. In this context, Antall said:

"The question is what role the UN can play in the former Yugoslavia, in Serbia and in Croatia, and on such Serbian-inhabited areas of Croatia where hotbeds of tension have come about. For us, and for other countries, too, it is a vital interest for the Yugoslav issue to be resolved, and similarly to the European communities, the UN has accepted a role in this, although somewhat late."

"Another problem is whether the minimum can be attained in compromises and agreements between the sides, Croatia and Serbia, for the UN peace-keeping forces to be able to take up their positions," Antall went on.

"Obviously, the demilitarization of these critical points is needed in this interest, for the peace-keeping forces to be able to ensure that human rights and minority right are not violated. This refers to the areas within the state borders of Croatia, and to Vojvodina as well," the prime minister said.

Antall then noted the interest of the Hungarian side focuses on the Hungarians in Vojvodina, and those in eastern Croatia, that is the Slavonian Hungarians. However, Hungary infers the guaranteeing of security to the other national minorities as well, Antall said.

"We hold it important for Croatia to guarantee the security of the Serbian minority, and for the Serbians to likewise guarantee the security of all other national minorities. This was the position detailed by the Hungarian delegation, under the leadership of the foreign minister, at the summit of the Security Council," Prime Minister Antall said in the interview on Hungarian Television on Sunday.

Talks on Treaty With Romania Show Progress

AU0302114492 Budapest MTI in English 1821 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text]Budapest 30 Jan (MTI)—The second round of talks on the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty came to an end in Budapest today, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman told MTI.

The discussions were marked by an open, informal and constructive atmosphere and a compromising spirit on both sides. Most basic treaty's articles were collated to the satisfaction of both sides.

The second round of talks will probably be held a month from now.

Agreement was reached on the treaty's preamble, assurance of a free flow of information, co-operation in military, security, economic, trade, cultural, educational, technical and scientific matters and in the mass media.

Negotiations on the expansion of contacts between citizens, the streamlining of border crossing and the opening of new border stations also advanced.

The new basic treaty will be for a 10-year term which may be prolonged by mutual consent.

Trade, Finances Discussed With Croatia

LD0102202192 Budapest MTI in English 1627 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—Croatia and Hungary should sign a comprehensive trade and financial agreement, Hungarian International Economic Relations Ministry Deputy State Secretary Lajos Berenyi proposed at talks with Croat Chamber of Commerce President Ivica Gazi today.

Regulations for border zone trade should be concluded as soon as possible to boost bilateral trade, Gazi said.

An agreement to be signed between Zagrebacka Banka and the Hungarian Foreign Trade Bank on trade accounting was welcomed by both sides.

Also, the Adria pipeline, which runs from the Adriatic Sea to Hungary, should be put into operation before long, Berenyi said. Further, he urged enlivening transit ties, especially regarding the reopening of Croatian ports.

Jeszenszky Airs Views on Magyars in Serbia

LD0102234992 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified correspondent in Budapest on his return from New York—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Mr. Jeszenszky, you voiced the opinion that a Yugoslav settlement is inconceivable without territorial and cultural autonomy being granted to the Magyars living there.

[Jeszenszky] The autonomy of the minorities is cardinal, because in fact, this is the source of the conflict—the demands of the Serbs living on the territory of Croatia. It would be very peculiar if the settlement were to guarantee this and at the same time the entirely justified and extremely moderate endeavors of the non-Serbs living in Serbia, among them the Magyars, for self-management, self-government—which so far, in part, already existed in previous years, decades, but which have now been halted—could not be realized.

Walesa's Health Improves; To Resume Duties 3 Feb

LD3101224192 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 30 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 31—According to the doctor who takes care of Lech Walesa, the president's health has distinctly improved, a communique released Friday said. Walesa was taken ill during his winter vacations at the mountain spa of Solina, south-east Poland. Along with him also his wife and four of his children fell victims to a severe virus infection. The president will be back at work in the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on Monday, the presidential press office announced.

Skubiszewski Praises CSCE Conference Results

LD3101215392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2100 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] The meeting of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE Conference in Prague has begun a new phase of cooperation in Europe, said Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski after flying back to Warsaw. Ten new states have been accepted into the CSCE. This requires a change of behavior. The Polish minister submitted a proposal for the creation of CSCE peace forces. It will be considered at a meeting in Helsinki to take place in the spring. Poland advocates the signing of a new treaty, regulating the new situation in Europe, as well as the formation of a new conciliatory institution, which would concern itself with solving border conflicts.

Further Comments on Prague Meeting

LD0202181792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] The CSCE faces new tasks after the acceptance of ten new members, said Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski after returning from the deliberations in Prague. Poland put forward a proposal for the signing of a so-called treaty on security and also the creation of CSCE armed forces. As to other proposals, Minister Skubiszewski said:

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] Poland supported the French project; that is at the moment already a French-German project—we did this very urgently—a project for the creation of a body that would concern itself with conciliation, reconciliation, and also arbitration, for the number of disputes will be growing. Please remember the territorial disputes in the East and the disputes associated with the affairs of the various nationalisms. A very important issue in the CSCE is human rights, fundamental freedoms. Here there was a very interesting Dutch proposal to create an institution, an office, a CSCE commissioner for national minorities. This commissioner would be located in a CSCE office located in Warsaw. And this office will altogether, we decided in Prague, widen its interests—it will concern itself not only with free elections but altogether with the creation of democratic institutions and with human rights. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Says Genscher Visit 'New Stage'

LD0202090792 Warsaw PAP in English 1736 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 31—The visit to Poland by German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher will open a new stage in relations between Poland and Germany, according to the deputy director of the European Department of the Foreign Ministry, Jan Barcz. He recalled that in the last two years Poland had received considerable support from the Germans in three very important areas: the reduction of the Polish debt, the removal of visa requirements for Polish citizens, and Poland's association with the European Communities.

Barcz thought that the visit, beginning on Monday, would be a summing up of the relations betwen the two countries in the last two years and would serve to set the priorities for new directions in the future. He stated that for Poland "the Germans are a very important economic and political partner, both in bilateral realations and from the point of view of the Polish strategy of entering the European structures". Barcz added that it was hard to agree with suggestions that relations between Poland and Germany were stagnating. He rather thought that relations were now becoming normal and "one should not expect spectacular strides. Concluding specific agreements and taking decisions concerning very concrete matters await us".

He said that in the course of the visit international questions "significantly reaching beyond bilateral matters" would be discussed. Finally, the issues surrounding the visit of President Walesa to Germany would be raised. This visit "is very important from the point of view of its political weight". Other, "complementary", visits were also planned which would have a practical importance. For instance, visits by the prime ministers of the new lands in the East would be important for cooperation in the border regions.

CSFR Tanks on Danish Ship 'Bound for Syria'

LD0102220592 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] Szczecin, Feb. 1—A ship under the Danish flag was loaded with 12 Czechoslovak tanks in the port of Szczecin Saturday amid doubts concerning its destination. The tanks are T-72s produced in Czechoslovakia under licence from the USSR, similar to those which left Szczecin on the German ship "Godewind" in mid-January. That time the ship did not reach its destination because it was stopped in the Mediterranean and made to head for Kiel. The Danish ship, "Nadia J", which had also been loaded with tons of ammunition and spare

parts, was ostensibly bound for Syria but the captain does not yet know which port he is to sail to.

Sejm Accepts Walesa's Veto of Radio-TV Law

LD3101205692

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish at 1736 GMT on 31 January, during a live relay of the Sejm session in Warsaw, broadcasts coverage of the debate of the Television Law and the veto of the law by President Lech Walesa. The Sejm speaker then announces the result of the vote on the law as follows:

"We are now going to vote. I recall that in accord with Article 27, paragraph 5 of the Constitution, following the refusal of the president to sign a law, the Sejm may once again pass the law by a majority of at least two-thirds of the vote in the presence of at least one-half of the total number of deputies. I remind you that the [Sejm] commissions recommend that the Supreme Chamber does not pass the law again.

"I hereby state that the Sejm, by 239 votes for, 4 against, and with 20 abstentions, has not passed the Radio and Television Law for a second time."

Sejm Resolution Declares Martial Law Illegal

LD0202000392 Warsaw PAP in English 1805 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—After long hours of heated debate the Sejm passed a resolution Saturday which declares illegal the introduction of martial law in Poland in December, 1981. The resolution also established a special Sejm committee which will look into ways of compensating wrongs and damages inflicted under martial law for political reasons. The same committee will draft acts annulling the legal consequences of martial law.

Military Reforms Reduce Army by 14,000 Officers

LD0202090892 Warsaw PAP in English 0901 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 31—The number of career officers in the Polish Army has shrank by 14,000 over the recent two years due to the reforms in the Army, the Ministry of National Defence said on Friday. Commanders of the military, naval, and air forces have been replaced as well as commanders of all military districts. The number of officers with higher education has grown by 4 percent, while the average age of the officers dropped to 36.6 years, the ministry said.

Interrepublic

Slovenia, Croatia To Establish Relations

LD0102163592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1445 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic told a press conference here today that Slovenia and Croatia are about to establish full diplomatic relations and open embassies in each other's capitals, Ljubljana and Zagreb.

Separevic said there were no serious disputes between the two republics and called all speculations about that issue unfounded.

Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally declared secession from Yugoslavia on June 25 last year and later applied to the European Community for international recognition.

Federal

Official Inquiry Concluded on EC Helicopter

LD0102134892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1137 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—The flight of the E.C. mission's helicopter from Kaposvar to Zagreb had not been approved by competent Yugoslav organs, the Yugoslav state commission concluded in its report on the direct causes of the downing of the craft, published exclusively by the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Saturday.

The state commission, made up of experts of the Federal Secretariat for Transport and Communications, completed the official inquiry into the incident late last week and brought 11 conclusions about the causes of the downing of the E.C. helicopter, the daily writes.

The E.C. helicopter was downed by a Yugoslav Air Force plane on January 6 near the town of Varazdin (Croatia), around 80 kilometers from Zagreb.

Five members of the E.C. mission in Yugoslavia were killed when the helicopter, flying from the Hungarian town of Kaposvar to Zagreb, crashed.

In its conclusions, the state commission said an E.C. representative had explicitly stated that the flight from Kaposvar to Zagreb would be conducted at their "own risk," despite warnings from the flight approval center of the Federal Flight Control Administration that "that section of Yugoslavia's air space is closed to air traffic," VECERNJI list writes.

The state commission said in its conclusions that the regional flight control in Budapest made a slip by not informing the regional flight control in Belgrade about the take-off of the E.C. helicopter and the expected time of its flight over the border, thus violating international air traffic regulations.

Furthermore, the operative center of the Hungarian anti-aircraft defence did not inform the Yugoslav Air Force anti-aircraft defence center about the helicopter's approach to the border and entry into Yugoslav air space, even though an agreement was reached on November 12 last year between the commanders of the Hungarian and the Yugoslav Air Force on mutual informing in such cases.

The commission underscored that the announcement of the flight, sent on behalf of the E.C. mission to the General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces by the General Staff of the Republic of Croatia, could not be accepted nor could the flight be approved since all flights in the Zagreb region were banned by a notam (dispatch on a flight ban).

The state commission considers, however, that the probability of the incident occurring would have been substantially reduced had the competent military organs informed all their instances at all levels about the received announcement, regardless of the fact that it could not be accepted or the flight approved.

The commission also considers that the decision to open fire on the helicopter was made "somewhat too hastily because the target entered Yugoslavia's air space without approval, could not be identified electronically or through the dispatch service and due to difficult conditions for visual identification and warning."

The prescribed interception warning mechanism was "completely inapplicable" because of the difference in the flight speed of the supersonic jet and the helicopter, the report said.

It added that of the two E.C. helicopters intercepted by the Yugoslav Air Force plane, the downed helicopter was not white with E.C. markings, contrary to agreement.

There have been numerous violations of the Yugoslav air space by unidentified aircraft in that part of the country over the past two months, the state commission said in its report.

Expanded Presidency Session Continues Overnight

LD0202102392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—The expanded session of the SFRY Presidency, which started on Friday and was resumed last night, continued throughout the night and is still in progress, TANJUG has learned from sources close to the Presidency. The participants are discussing topical issues in connection with the engagement of UN peace forces in Yugoslavia. Since last night they have been trying to overcome the well-known reservations and differences in stands on the UN peace plan with the Krajina leadership. [passage omitted]

Session Accepts Vance Peace Plan

LD0202195192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1937 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—Cyrus Vance's peace plan was accepted by all participants in the meeting of the Yugoslav Presidency today, TANJUG has learned.

The session began on Friday and was attended by the Presidency members, representatives of the Federation, the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, members of the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina who are cooperating with the Federation, and the leaderships of the Serb Krajinas.

TANJUG has learned that the plan was accepted in the absence of president of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Milan Babic by president of the RSK parliament Mile Paspalj.

A statement is expected soon.

Statement Issued

LD0202214292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—All participants in an expanded SFRY Presidency session, which ended in Belgrade this evening, reached full agreement on the acceptance of a concept regarding the UN peacekeeping operation in Yugoslavia, which had been proposed by Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary general's personal envoy. A statement from the session was issued, saying:

"In the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade, an expanded session of the SFRY Presidency was held from 31 January to 2 February and was presided over by Vice President Branko Kostic. The session was attended, in addition to SFRY Presidency members, by top representatives of the Federal bodies; the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro; those representatives of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina who are cooperating with the SFRY Presidency; representatives of the Serbian Krajina, the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, and the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia; and presidents of municipal assemblies from Krajina, Lika, Banija, and Kordun. The session also was attended by Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] representatives: chief of the SFRY Armed Forces General Staff, commander of the Second Army District, and commanders of the Bihac and Knin Corps. The session examined current issues regarding the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia.

"Full agreement was reached by all participants on the acceptance of a concept of the UN peacekeeping operation in Yugoslavia, which had been proposed by Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary general's personal envoy.

"All participants representing bodies of the Federation; the JNA; the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro; representatives of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina who are cooperating with the SFRY Presidency; and representatives of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, and the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia, expressed their full unity regarding the acceptance of this concept. The president of the Assembly of Serbian Krajina, as the supreme body of power, who, in accordance with the Constitution, stood in for the absent Krajina president, fully agreed with the concept regarding the UN peacekeeping operation in Yugoslavia. The session's participants were briefed about suggestions given for consideration to UN Under-Secretary Marrack Goulding by representatives of Serbian Krajina.

"On the basis of the results of today's session, the SFRY Presidency will give assurances to the UN Security Council that it will ensure the uninterrupted arrival of UN peacekeeping troops and the efficient collaboration on the part of local authorities in the areas where UN troops are proposed to be deployed. This has met all the conditions set by the UN Security Council for the latter to decide on sending UN peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia. Competent Federal bodies, together with the bodies of the Serbian Krajina, Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, and Western Slavonia [as received] will carry out necessary preparations for the successful deployment of the UN peacekeeping troops in Yugoslavia. Proceeding from its constitutional role and with a view to the expressed will of the people it represents, the SFRY Presidency, as the Supreme Command of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, is giving full assurances that, if UN peacekeeping troops fail to do so, it will give full protection to the Serbian people in Krajina if they are attacked by the Croatian armed forces or if they are endangered in any other way," the statement says.

Babic Denies Vance Plan Acceptance

LD0202230192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2230 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—The office of the Government of Serbian Krajina issued a statement this evening signed by Serbian Krajina President Milan Babic denying that Babic and the Krajina Government accepted the UN peace plan. The statement says:

"Neither Serbian Krajina President Milan Babic nor the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, at a session of the SFRY Presidency from 1 to 2 February 1992, accept Cyrus Vance's plan regarding the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Both the president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina further abide by the stand that Cyrus Vance's plan should be corrected before the Republic of Serbian Krajina endorses it. The president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and members of its government informed the SFRY Presidency members about this stand. Milan Paspalj, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, was not

authorized to sign any other stand on behalf of the Republic of Serbian Krajina."

Krajina's Paspalj Explains Acceptance

LD0202235492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2325 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—"I believe that we made a considerable move forward toward the settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia, particularly on the territory of Serbian Krajina and Croatia, which was done in a proper way, so that all future solutions can be sought in a peaceful way and through political agreements," Milan Paspalj, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, stated this evening after he had agreed with the implementation of Cyrus Vance's peace plan and the deployment of 'Blue Helmets'. Paspalj told Belgrade Television late this evening why he had signed the agreement on behalf of Krajina.

"Cyrus Vance's plan was not completely acceptable to us; however, after Marrack Goulding's visit to Belgrade and Knin and after he had accepted our remarks, and had promised that he would tell Vance about them, we obtained guarantees that the plan would be amended," Paspalj stressed. He went on to say that Krajina found Borisav Jovic's visit to the United States and his talks with UN representatives encouraging. "By accepting this peace plan, we are going to show the whole world that our option for peace and preservation of our ethnic environment was honest," the president of the Serbian Krajina Assembly said.

Statistics on 1991 Economic Trends Reported

92BA0414A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 92 p 36

[Article by "D.Z.": "1991 Balance Sheet: Row of Minuses"]

[Text] One of the last federal institutions to function normally over the past year, during which the Yugoslav federation came undone, was the Federal Institute of Statistics, which managed to obtain and process data even from Slovenia and Croatia (although certain data from those two republics were not forthcoming by the end of the year). The practices of a high-profile profession surmounted problems in the form of severed ties and political ill will, so that in the end the statisticians still managed to draw up a picture of economic trends during 1991 throughout the entire economic territory of the country in which civil war was waged during the second half of the year.

Thus, just before the end of the year the Institute published its assessments of trends through the end of 1991, with the qualification that this was based on data for 10 months. Nevertheless, despite the unpredictability of economic trends under the prevalent political conditions in this region, the final data on the state of the (former) Yugoslav economic picture will probably not differ essentially from what the statisticians have already predicted.

Social Product

The decline in the social product during 1991 can be estimated at 15 percent relative to 1990, when that figure was already 8.5 percent lower than in the previous year. The level of production in the country has been reduced to the 1976 level. The primary reason for this is the decline in industrial activity, which last year amounted to 20.7 percent. Agricultural production, which grew 7.6 percent, mitigated the decline in social product, but the reduced activity in the service sector, especially the part of it oriented towards exports (tourism, transportation), also dragged the social product down. All the data for the overall noncommodity sector are not yet available, but it is known that, for example, the turnover in tourism, measured in bed-nights, was 61 percent lower than in the previous year (and even 87 percent lower for foreign tourists).

Inflation

The only thing that grew last year was inflation. After 1990, when there was a perceptible calming trend in prices, we once again saw a monthly upward trend in prices in 1991. During the first several months, the monthly rise in retail prices was in the single digits, around 4 percent, while in May it began to climb to rates of 10 percent and higher, so that at the end of the year it had achieved a level of around 20 percent. This figure came to 18 percent in December. On an annual level, inflation rose to 118 percent (data for Croatia are not included here), while the increase from January to December amounted to 235 percent.

On an annual level, the rise in prices of agricultural products amounted to 150.6 percent, while industrial products went up 256.2 percent, food 268.6 percent, nonfood 255.6 percent, beverages 203.9 percent, and services 173.2 percent.

The cost of living rose by 18.7 percent in December, with an annual increase of 222 percent.

Among the republics, the greatest rise in retail prices last year was experienced by Bosnia-Hercegovina at 245 percent, followed by Slovenia at 243 percent. Retail prices rose 237 percent in Montenegro, 236 percent in Serbia, and 230 percent in Macedonia.

At the same time, production costs underwent a 114 percent increase, with a 120 percent increase in agriculture.

Industrial Production

The decline in industrial activity for the entire year came to 20.7 percent, in which the decline in the production of equipment was especially pronounced, at 27 percent. The decline in the production of raw materials and semifinished goods was somewhat less, at 21 percent,

while the production of consumer goods fell by 17 percent. The production of equipment, especially in sectors that lost the East European export market, dropped dramatically: machine building by 37 percent, the transportation industry by 27 percent, metalworking activities by 23 percent, the electrical machines and equipment industry by 24 percent, and shipbuilding by 31 percent. Basic chemistry reduced its production volume by 19 percent, and processing dropped by 18 percent. The production of textiles fell 17 percent, while there was a 31 percent decline in the textile fiber and fabric industry and even a 38 percent decline in the leather goods and footwear industry. Furniture production fell 16 percent, while the production of lumber and paneling dropped 22 percent. The production of food products was 12 percent lower. The lowest decline in production was recorded by the electrical industry, 2 percent, while petroleum and natural gas production dropped 13 percent and the production of petroleum derivatives fell 27 percent.

All of these rates of decline are a continuation of the negative trends in these same branches of the economy the previous year (except in the derivatives industry, which experienced an increase in production of 1 percent). At the same time, these are for the most part decidedly export-oriented branches in which the decline in production was partially provoked by the inadequate ability to face up to competition on new markets, an ability that will be further diminished by this decline in activity, leaving them in a closed circle of competitive inability and a decline in production, two negative trends that "support" one another.

Agriculture

In the social sector of agriculture, production last year was 8 percent higher than in 1990, while the increase in the private sector was 5 percent. Production from cultivation was 8 percent higher (where grain production increased by 27 percent and the production of industrial crops was up 14 percent), but the level of buying was lower than in the previous year, 7 percent for wheat and 43 percent for corn. Cattle breeding fell by 3 percent.

Foreign Trade

A decline in the level of foreign trade was also recorded last year, with a 20.7 percent drop in exports and a 27.4 percent drop in imports. This major decline in foreign trade activities is due primarily to the decline in production, but also to the loss of confidence by foreign buyers and the uncertain conditions on the domestic market, as well as the long-maintained unrealistic exchange rate of the dinar as far as exports are concerned. On the other hand, imports fell because of the ever-smaller influx of foreign exchange, not only from commodity exports, but also from noncommodity exports, tourism, and transportation services, which fueled the foreign-exchange market last year.

Employment and Personal Consumption

The decline in production activities also brought with it a decline in employment in the social sector, amounting to 10 percent for economic activities and 5 percent for noneconomic activities. There were 5,886,000 people employed in the social sector last year, with 4,790,000 in economic activities and 1,096,000 in noneconomic activities. The private sector employed 198,000 people. The number of persons looking for work rose to 1.5 million, from 1.3 million in 1990, for a 15 percent increase. Last year was the fourth year in a row in which unemployment rose.

Average personal income per worker amounted to 7,695 dinars last year, representing a nominal increase of 81 percent relative to the previous year, but in real terms it fell by 17 percent, making it the second year of decline (in 1990 the decline in real personal income came to 22 percent). Through these trends, the average real personal income in this country was reduced to only 70 percent of the level in 1986.

The physical volume of domestic trade in retail goods fell by 8 percent last year, and the decline in the hotel and restaurant sector was 38 percent. In terms of value, retail trade rose by 91 percent based on current prices, but fell by 9 percent based on fixed prices. At the same time, stocks rose by 96 percent.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

German Envoy Against Imposed Political Division

LD3101224392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2201 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—Germany will not permit any imposition of political solutions by force or a division of Bosnia- Herzegovina, German Ambassador to Yugoslavia Joerg Eiff said in a talk today with the Croat members of the Presidency of Bosnia- Herzegovina, Stjepan Kljuic and Franjo Boras.

The republican presidency's press office quotes the German ambassador as saying that, irrespective of the outcome of the planned referendum, democratic dialogue and consultations were the prime conditions of the coexistence in Bosnia-Herzegovina of its three constitutive nations—Muslims (who account for 43.77 percent of the population), Serbs (31.46 percent) and Croats (17.34).

Muslim and Croat deputies to the republican parliament have decided, without obtaining the consent of the Serb deputies, to call a referendum on the republic's independence.

The constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina provides for decisions of vital importance to the republic to be taken by consensus of the three constitutive nations. Serbs in the republic do not agree to the referendum, maintaining

that it will make possible the republic's secession from Yugoslavia by outvoting them.

The republic's Serbs held a plebiscite late last year in which they voted to remain in Yugoslavia.

German Ambassador Eiff, who is paying a working visit to Bosnia- Herzegovina, was today received by member of the republican presidency Ejup Ganic, who is the Muslims' representative to the body, republican Premier Jure Pelivan and Finance Minister Momcilo Pejic.

HOS Publicizes Force Size in Western Hercegovina

AU3101205392 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Report on leaflet forwarded by the war headquarters of the HOS [Croatian Defense Force] for Hercegovina by Omer Vatric in Mostar, date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Since arriving in western Hercegovina, the command of the war headquarters of the HOS has been endeavoring to be as prominent as possible in the media and show itself as an exceptionally large military force in opposition to the Army. Blaz Kraljevic Ero, commander of the war headquarters, has addressed the public several times through newspapers, radio, and television. He has been repeating that HOS is very strong numerically and wants to be even stronger.

According to some Army claims, this involves almost 16,000 members of the HOS, as stated for example in OSLOBODJENJE. In the same newspaper, Blaz Kraljevic said that there are even more of them. He repeated something similar last night in the television program "Here and Now."

On the other side, representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community and the official authorities in the communes of western Hercegovina play down the size of the HOS forces and their importance. Thus, in the same television program, Jozo Maric, president of the Grude commune, claimed that this may involve about 100, but not 16,000, HOS members.

With the leaflet that reached our editorial offices today, dated 26 January, the command of the war headquarters of the HOS for Hercegovina endeavors to explain some things to Croats and other citizens of Hercegovina. It repeats that the HOS is numerically very strong and that the number of soldiers is a secret, but that there are very many. The leaflet says they are here to defend this area from possible attacks from the Serbo-Chetnik bands, of which there are so many in eastern Hercegovina, Mostar, Capljina, and so on.

The leaflet goes on to say that the HOS is armed by the Croatian Party of Justice, and answers to the main [word indistinct] of HOS in Zagreb, that is to say, Mr. Paraga. The leaflet also says: We cooperate with the Territorial Defense to the extent that this is possible and necessary. They have an internal police force. They are here to mobilize as many people as possible and to control approaches from the crisis areas like Mostar, Capljina, and others.

The leaflet then explains some symbols: the Croatian coat of arms with [words indistinct] on the cap and the symbol embroidered on the left sleeve that shows the Croatian coat of arms and the words, HOS, Ready for the homeland, and HSP, that is to say the Croatian Party of Justice.

Before the signature of the commander, Blaz Kraljevic, the leaflet ends with the cry, God and Croats are ready for the homeland.

Time will tell how many HOS members there really are in western Hercegovina, just as time will tell how much of a help all this is, above all, to the Croats themselves in Hercegovina. This is because it should not be forgotten that the main counterweight to the Army units and numerous reservists in Hercegovina are the armed formations in communes of western Hercegovina, among which the HOS wants to present itself as the largest force. This way of demonstrating strength means that peace is further and further away, and war is ever closer.

Croatian Democratic Community Chairman Resigns

LD0202184392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Following a four-hour discussion at the first session of the Central Committee of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Chairman Stjepan Kljujic tendered his irrevocable resignation to the post just after 1800 [1700 GMT].

Kljujic said it is obvious that we cannot reach unity, and I am tendering my resignation, but I retain the right to keep silent about reasons for the resignation. He stressed that he would follow the party line and that time would show who was right. Following this, he left the session and Siroki Brijeg.

Several discussions which criticized the HDZ leadership provided the pretext for the resignation. The most vocal was Joza Maric, president of the Grude municipality, who said that the situation was exacerbating and criticized the party leadership and chairman. Following a short break, the session resumed work with a speech made by Stipe Mesic. Mesic stressed, we must not bring into question the unity of the Croatian corps; nobody is indispensable but this does not give us the right to wage smear campaigns. He also demanded concrete proposals.

Arrest for Weapons Theft Sparks Sarajevo Protest

AU0202203092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Munir Radaca and Rasim Radaca from Podgrab [Sarajevo suburb] and Hamdija Dolovic, staff sergeant

from Pale [Sarajevo suburb], were arrested in Pale today on suspicion of having taken a large quantity of weapons and ammunition from the military barracks in Koran [Sarajevo suburb]. Several hundred citizens, according to some estimates, gathered in front of the Sarajevo Military Command this afternoon and demanded that the Army should release the arrested people immediately and give them over to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina and not to the police in Pale where the arrest has taken place.

Government Hopes to Introduce Currency

92BA0426A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Jan 92 p 9

[Article by N. Buturovic: "The Kulin Protecting the Economy?"]

[Text] Sarajevo—If something can be done in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] by the ethnic body that favors an independent B-H without the body opposing it knowing about it, then it is possible, so it is being whispered, that somewhere the "kulin" has been printed or is being printed in secrecy. That is the unofficial name of the nonexistent B-H currency, whose introduction is being loudly demanded by the SDA [Democratic Action Party] and HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and their officials delegated to republic government bodies, while the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] and its officials are categorically refusing.

Jure Pelivan, B-H prime minister, said the day before yesterday in a meeting that "intensive preparations must begin this very day to introduce our own currency, which may be temporary," arguing that the uniform Yugoslav currency can "serve only for the outflow of the miserable little income we have." Rsumir Mahmurcehatic, deputy prime minister of B-H, has said that the currency cannot be an end, but is protection against what is being imposed, which is that the exhausted and weak economy of B-H could experience collapse. However, the B-H government has not adopted any official resolution to prepare for introduction of the B-H currency, because the Serb ministers are opposed to that. Branko Djeric, for example, has "read" the demands for B-H currency as an "endeavor" to form a state by means of money. According to him, the space of B-H should be protected against economic troubles, but the question is "how to protect B-H from an immature policy and politicians." Something is clear, at least for the present: "Not a single Serb will accept the B-H currency," according to Radovan Karadzic, leader of the SDS.

One exchange of the money of Bosnia-Hercegovina has already caused damage that still has not been reckoned. Obrad Piljak, vice governor of the National Bank of B-H, says that at least 4 billion worthless dinars turned up in the vaults of this bank during the New Year's exchange of the money. How? No one knows yet. Both the National Bank and Social Accounting Service of B-H are announcing a superaudit. Newsmen discovered that trucks had carried old dinars out of Croatia in order to exchange them for the new Yugodinar. Thus, instead of 17 million dinars, which was the estimated amount circulating in B-H, 20.5 billion were exchanged up through 31 December of last year. Over the 15 days that followed, to the amazement of officials of the National Bank, a large number of people turned up with 20 and 30 million dinars apiece for exchange, and they would even come several times, even though the dinars were merely entered in their savings account books, and personal data were taken down.

The rationale for introducing a B-H currency is based on the fact that the Army budget for this year is eightfold larger than the budget of Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to Jure Pelivan, and that the Army has been trucking food out of B-H, it was asserted by Muhamed Cengic, deputy prime minister, which is leading B-H directly into hyperinflation and hunger in the literal sense of the word.

Because the ethnic structures here have been unable to agree about anything, it is difficult to believe that any of them will allow any other to win the "monetary conflict." It therefore could really happen that one morning store signs would read "We do not accept dinars" and "We do not accept kulins" in places where now the signs read "We do not take coupons" and "We do not accept checks."

[Box, p 9]

Replacement and "Dying" of the Yugodinar

The Commission for Election and Appointments of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of B-H has approved a proposal that Hajra Balorda be dismissed from the office of governor of the B-H National Bank. It has proposed that Jadranko Prlic be appointed to that post.

The replacement of Hajra Balorda had been demanded even earlier by the HDZ of B-H, because under an interparty agreement this post belonged to the Croats, when it was ascertained that Hajra Balorda knew that the "dying" of the Yugoslav dinar was being prepared and did not notify the authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the HDZ demanded that he be removed immediately.

Jadranko Prlic, who is now general director of the "HEPOK" Holding Company in Mostar, was deputy prime minister in the last communist government of B-H, when the prime minister was Marko Cerenic.

Croatia

Foreign Minister Rejects Goulding Plan

LD0102032592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] At a session of the Croatian government, Prime Minister Franjo Greguric said Croatia could not accept

Goulding's proposals because Serbia has given no guarantees to implement the agreement in the areas occupied by the Babic and Hadzic units.

Reporting on his attendance at the CSCE conference in Prague, Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic said the Yugoslav crisis had been discussed in Prague and that the warning had been voiced that there could be no forcible changes of borders.

In its most important part the government session examined five draft laws regarding the territorial structure of our country and a forthcoming election. The first law, on local government, is based on Europe's experience. According to its provisions municipalities will be units of local government. A number of municipalities, constituting a geographical, historical and economic entity, will be included in counties [zupanija]. A county will be a noncentral state body as well as the transmission and coordinating body which comprises municipalities within its area. A public debate will be organized about these documents.

Interior Minister on Serious Crimes, UN Troops

LD0202204692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—It is true that citizens of the Serbian nationality are frequently targets and victims of criminal actions, Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Ivan Vekic admitted in an interview for NEDELJNI VJESNIK [HERALD ON SUNDAY]. "Many Serbs have joined terrorists and Chetniks from parts of Croatia, and when we talk about their emigration, this should be also be born in mind," he said.

According to him, 2,495 cases of planted explosives and arson were registered up to August 1990, and "most were targeting property belonging to Serbs." He then specified that this includes only reports "from areas not caught by war." Vekic then cited that about 400 active and reserve policemen died, 16 are missing, and about 2,000 are seriously and lightly injured. He said that 155 policemen committed criminal acts, adding that "envisaged legal measures have been undertaken against them." Vekic then hinted that "the Croatian police will soon be in all parts of Croatia."

"All policemen who are currently working as self-proclaimed Krajina policemen are not employed by the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs, so they will not be allowed to keep peace and order," he made it clear. Vekic announced that border checking points will be opened soon on crossings with Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina. "Our units will patrol the entire Croatian border and also parts where the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia is endangered," Vekic stressed.

Asked about tasks of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs in connection with the arrival and deployment of the UN peacekeeping troops, Vekic said: "We shall control traffic in areas where "Blue Helmets" will arrive and where they will be deployed. We shall ensure the safety of "Blue Helmets" and their facilities, and we shall provide police escort. It is envisaged that 25 armed police observers will go to each police station under the UN control. These observers will be stationed in police stations or nearby."

EC Advised of 'Most Serious' Cease-Fire Breach

LD0302143492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] Around six this morning enemy units in Markusica fired six mortars at Croatian positions near Tomin Hrast and followed that up with heavy fire from antiaircraft and machine guns. An enemy infantry charge then ensued which was repelled by Croatian forces without losses. Croatian Army Command advised EC observers of this action, the most serious breach of the truce so far.

Army Resupply, Reinforcement Continues

LD0302143892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] The Yugoslav and Serbian Army in Vinkovci area continue to resupply and reinforce units in the area. Enemy helicopters were in the air throughout the night and enemy units along the (Bosut) front were firing in attempts to cover up the resupply action.

Assembly's Sek: No End Until 'Full Liberation'

LD0102132492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Excerpt] The Croatian army will not and cannot give in, unless a peaceful path leads it to its full liberation. Croatian Assembly Vice President Vladimir Seks said this today at a majestic gathering in Ivanic-Grad during the oath taking of the members of the 65th Independent Ivanic-Grad Batallion and the 102th Zagreb Brigade.

After all, Croatia now has a strong army, navy, and if it shows necessary, Croatian war planes will fly across its sky, Seks said. Finally, this is a ceremonial act, but it has been carried out in practice earlier on on battlefields, confirming the committment to defend every palm of Croatian land. [passage omitted]

Draft Law on Local Government Adopted

LD0102085192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] At last night's session chaired by Dr. Franjo Greguric, the Croatian Government adopted and proceeded to regular Assembly procedure draft laws on local self-government, counties, and electoral lists. This is a procedure by which, as it was explained, the state authority descends to the level of counties, and municipalities remain basic units of local self-government. Counties are cooperation centers of local government, and are organized according to economic and territorial

integrity, and historical and cultural and other (?choices). For example, it is envisaged that 17 counties will be formed in Croatia, with seats in Krapina, Karlovac, Sisak, Pazin, Rijeka, Gospic, Zadar, Sibenik, Split, Dubrovnik, Zagreb, Varazdin, Vukovar, Osijek, Pozega, Virovitica, and Bjelovar, which caused a number of objections and proposals. However, the conclusion was adopted to send the draft law to public debate and it will be seen what will be adopted.

Serbian Krajinas Fear Croatians Territory Aims

LD0102115392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] Erdut, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—The Croatian paramilitary, which has obviously lost patience, does not care at all about the arrival of the "Blue Helmets," which means that it does not care for the establishing of permanent peace in this area caught in the war, said Rade Leskovac, deputy information minister of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem Government today in Erdut.

The accumulation of large military formations, as well as constant provocations, especially in Baranja, are a reliable indication and confirmation that the Croatian paramilitary has no intentions to leave to us what we have conquered in the imposed war, he said.

The current regroupment of the Croatian paramilitary, digging trenches and building big shelters are, according to Leskovac, only a preparation for a large scale attack which will, most probably, first be directed against Knin. Liberated Knin, but also the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem—are a thorn in the side of "the young democracy."

According to Leskovac's assessment, if the UN peacekeeping forces were deployed along the line of separation of the warring sides, this would not suit at all the Croatian authority. Therefore, they are doing everything they can to prevent the arrival of the "Blue Helmets," Leskovac said.

Knin Rally To Demonstrate Support for Babic

LD0302102592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0857 GMT 3 Feb 92

[Text] Knin, 3 Feb (TANJUG)— The presidency of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina has decided to stage a rally in Knin at 1300 today to demonstrate support for Milan Babic personally, as well as his government.

The rally was announced by Knin radio, which extended its broadcast late last night to inform citizens about the results of the three-day talks, conducted at an expanded session of the SFRY Presidency in Belgrade. The peace plan of Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary general's personal envoy, for a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis was discussed during the session.

Babic also addressed the citizens. In a brief statement to Knin radio, he stressed that Mile Paspalj, the president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, had not been authorized to sign his consent to the arrival of peace forces; that is, to accept Vance's plan.

"I have not signed this plan, nor will I sign it"—Babic was resolute. He then added that plan would have been accepted only on condition that the Krajina Territorial Defense would not be disarmed, that forces of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) remained within Krajina, and that "the Blue Helmets" would be stationed along the line of confrontation; that is, the boundary.

Babic is supported by the SDS presidency which last night called on people to participate in this rally in support of the Krajina government and Babic.

Macedonia

Groups Support Government, Demand Recognition

AU0302105692 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Feb 92

[Text] A meeting of students and citizens was held in Skopje today to demonstrate support for the politics of the Macedonian leadership and the efforts of the Macedonian diplomacy in explaining to the world why Macedonia is seeking understanding and the international recognition of the sovereignty of the Macedonian state. Our correspondent Branka Nanevska reports:

[Begin Nanevska recording] The organizers of this peace demonstration—the Alliance of Macedonian Students, the republican women's associations, ecological societies, and the Macedonian Red Cross—attracted some 2,000 people in the center of Skopje this afternoon. With flags, numerous banners, and speeches—made by Dr. Dragi Danev, dean of the Cyril and Methodius University, and Sasa Klekovski, president of the Students' Association—they again voiced their firm support for the republican leadership and urge it to persist on what is not all an easy path of the international recognition of Macedonia.

An appeal was issued to the world to recognize Macedonia as soon as possible, as by postponing the recognition, the world is only doing injustice to this little, peaceful nation that wants open borders and cooperation with everybody who wants it, and has a right to realize its ancient ideal—to live in its own, sovereign, and democratic state.

Those in Europe who still care more for emotions than reason were warned that the irrational is stronger than the real, and that the historic intolerance is growing instead of shrinking, and that nobody can ever again stop the process that was started by the report of the Robert Badinter's Commission [EC Arbitration Commission].

Macedonia meets the criteria prescribed by Europe, and now it is time for Europe to legalize this fact.

In the declaration that was sent to the UN, EC, the governments of the countries that are members of the UN Security Council, and to all international students' associations, it is stated that the international recognition of Macedonia is demanded for the sake of peace and stability in this region and the whole of Europe. Recognition is also in the interest of the generations that will, despite all this, have to live together in this region.

The meeting in Skopje was peaceful. The prevailing slogans on the numerous banners demanded that the Army leadership be reasonable and stop the improper behavior and provocations, which have been encountered recently during the intensive withdrawal of the Army from this region. [end recording]

Serbia

Statement Issued on UN Troop Deployment

LD0102202792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1936 GMT 1 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—A session of the government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina was held today in the bureau of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. The session, chaired by Republican President Milan Babic, was attended by presidents of the municipalities in the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

The session reconsidered Cyrus Vance's plan to deploy UN peacekeeping troops, and in this connection issued the following statement:

"The Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, together with the presidents of the municipalities in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, has concluded that there is no reason for the government to change its well-known stance toward Cyrus Vance's plan, as there are no changes to the plan signed by presidents Milosevic, Tudjman and (former federal defense secretary) Kadijevic.

"In line with its stand that all controversial issues must be resolved peacefully and by political means, the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina proposes that UN peacekeeping forces be deployed on the line of conflict, because only such deployment can contribute toward peace on this soil and toward a just resolution of the conflict.

"The government also decided at today's session that the SFRY Presidency decision on the enforcement of the constitutional-legal system in crisis areas under Yugoslav People's Army protection cannot be implemented in the Republic of Serbian Krajina because the implementation of this decision would annul the constitutional and legal system in the Republic of Serbian Krajina. This would also be tantamount to a military putsch."

Serbian Guard Claims SPO Planning Civil War

LD3101181692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The Serbian Guard has enough evidence that the leaders of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] and many other parties are preparing a civil war in Serbia, Commander of the Guard Branko Lainovic said.

He told a news conference that this evidence could doom them to long prison terms.

With regard to the recent registration of the Guard as a citizens association, Lainovic accused, on behalf of 900 to 1,000 guardsmen on the front lines, Vuk and Danica Draskovic as well as Simo Dubajic of organizing an illegal network to send weapons to Belgrade so they could come to power by force and start a civil war. He also added that this is why "Belgrade is the most heavily armed town in Europe."

Lainovic also noted that the SPO had always patronized the guard although it had never done anything for the fighters. He stressed that the Guard was a nonpolitical and nonideological army whose sole aim is to fight for the protection and unity of the Serbian people, and he stressed that no member of the SPO has ever committed a single war crime, theft, or tortured POW's.

In his words, the Guard members are anti-communists and part of the opposition, but they will use all their energy to fight Bolshevism among the Serbian opposition. As for the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, Lainovic said the Army is helping the guard, respects the dead, and is supplying weapons. He emphasized Colonel Stojan Spanovic as "the second father of the Guard."

The Guard commander criticized the authorities in Serbia for not having yet revealed the name of the murderer of Branislav Matic-Beli [founder of the Serbian Guard] and for—he claims—bringing charges of organizing the events of 9 March [anti-Milosevic demonstrations] against [former Guard commander] Djordje Bozovic- Giska although he "died for the Serbian people."

Report Claims Two Albanians Killed in Kosovo

AU3101172792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Two Albanians died in an armed fight with militiamen today in the village of Ukca not far from Istok in Kosovo and Metohija. Milivoje Mihajlovic has the details:

[Begin Mihajlovic recording] Two Albanians died and at least three were wounded in a fight with police that started this morning at 0920 [0820 GMT] in the village of Ukca in the Istok Commune in Kosovo and Metohija. Police sources claim that at that time a militia patrol

carrying out a check was attacked by a group of Albanians first with stones and then with firearms, too. To repulse the attack, members of the patrol first fired into the air.

According to available information, one Albanian died on the spot while another succumbed to his wounds in the Pec hospital. Three or four attackers were wounded. None of the policemen was wounded.

Strong police forces quickly arrived at the scene to facilitate a smooth investigation. It is peaceful at the moment in the village. We have unofficially learned that a number of residents have hidden in the nearby woods.

Otherwise, at a news conference held by the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the largest Albanian party in the province, it was announced that three people had been killed in this fight. It was said that they had been taking children to school, and after this the police had surrounded the village.

More details of this incident will be contained in a statement by the headquarters of the special militia unit of the Internal Affairs Ministry of Serbia for Kosovo and Metohija which, as has been announced, will be issued this afternoon. [end recording]

Opposition Leader Indicted for Organizing Rally

LD3101212492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2057 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO), Vuk Draskovic, will be brought to trial on 20 February in the first municipal court in Belgrade. This was confirmed to TANJUG by the SPO Presidium.

The indictment charges Draskovic of organizing the 9 March demonstrations in Belgrade, in spite of a ban by the (Serbian) Ministry for Internal Affairs. Following a police intervention, a demonstrator and a policeman were killed.

Draskovic could be sentenced to the maximum of 15 years of imprisonment if charges listed in the indictment of the first municipal prosecutor's office in Belgrade are accepted. The indictment was sharply criticized by leaders of the opposition parties in Serbia. Draskovic has not appealed the indictment, and says "he is looking forward to the trial."

Draskovic, who is currently in the United States, has announced new demontrations on the anniversary of the 9 March rally.

Draskovic Interviewed on Civil War

AU3101143192 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No. 4, 27 Jan-2 Feb 92 p 11

[Interview with Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, by Jovan Teokarevic in Belgrade; date not given: "The Army Is Conducting a War Purely on Its Own Behalf"]

[Text] The Serbian writer Vuk Draskovic leads the Serbian Renewal Movement. Until recently he appeared to be an extreme nationalist, but since last March—when anti-Milosevic demonstrations were held in Belgrade—the writer has been, first and foremost, an open opponent of the Serbian communist regime. It considers him to be a traitor of the Serbian nation: He has spoken out against the war and has criticized official policy at a time when disputes between the parties and the liberal opposition are ignored in the interest of national unity. According to his writer friends, Vuk Draskovic lives under a permanent and immediate threat to his life.

[Teokarevic] You are regarded as an advocate of nationalist and militant policy and are the leader of a party that asserts this type of policy. How, then, should we interpret your demand that the war in Yugoslavia must end?

[Draskovic] Our party's aims are no more nationalist than those espoused by various European nations. The word nationalism is only interpreted negatively here by those who have not rid themselves of communist thinking and reflexes. During the past 50 years, you were branded a nationalist merely if you went to church, if you sang nationalist songs, or if one of your relatives had a church funeral.

This was the same as being branded a terrorist or a criminal. Therefore, the media, controlled by the communists, writes that I and my party are nationalists. As they have failed to eliminate us verbally, they are trying to succeed with guns. A member of our party's Presidium was recently murdered outside his home in Belgrade. They did well when they selected him: He was wealthy and financed a considerable part of our opposition activity.

Why the Opposition Was Defeated

[Teokarevic] How do you explain last year's election defeat?

[Draskovic] The democratic opposition was not defeated in the parliamentary elections because of the criticism heaped on our movement or even because the communists had a better program. Quite simply, communist practices defeated us in the struggle for power. We were unable to find a fitting response to these dishonorable and immoral practices.

In Serbia, as in the other post-communist countries, there were very few orthodox communists left. However, the orthodox communist policy concept was maintained. Unfortunately, the Serbs' political culture is at a very low level.

The fact that we want to end the war does not mean that the Serbian Renewal Movement has altered its program. We never wanted a war. Of course, this is not at variance with the fact that we support those Serbs who wish to campaign for their national rights. We believe that every right—including a nation's right to self- determination—

can be achieved by peaceful and democratic means. War is an anachronism; whoever believes in it, will drag his nation back into the past.

Our program has not changed: The situation around us has changed and has proven us right. The most tragic thing of all is that the real supporters of war and those who have struggled against it did not reveal themselves until Serbia was engulfed by the coffins and wheelchairs of our young men. No peaceful policy was apparent before the war.

[Teokarevic] Do you think your endeavor to achieve peace is in harmony with your calls for a strong Serbian army?

[Draskovic] Serbia is the most important protagonist in the Balkans, and it would be nonsense not to want it to have its own army when every nation around it has an army. The existence of a strong Serbian army, irrespective of the current war, is a prerequisite for stability on the Balkan peninsula. If there had been such an army a year ago, there would be no war now.

War Against Serbs Living Outside Serbia Is to No Avail

[Teokarevic] Do you think that when the issue of Serbs living outside Serbia is resolved, the war will come to an end?

[Draskovic] The national problems of Serbs living outside Serbia are not the main reason for today's war. A large part of the Federal Army is conducting the war on its own behalf so it can hang onto the privileges it had under the communist regime. The pensions paid to officers and veterans are much higher than the salaries of university professors. World-renowned scientists wait 20 years for an apartment, while Federal Army officers are given one right at the beginning of their careers. More than 20,000 retired officers currently live in Belgrade and—because of their various contacts and because they are members of the ruling party—are the most enthusiastic supporters of the war. Along with their relatives, they account for a considerable percentage of the electorate.

Yugoslavia's communist army also established a strong military industry. It brings in huge profits and it is not surprising that the Army wants to continue to keep it under its control. During the past 50 years, no military conflict has taken place anywhere in the world without weaponry made in Yugoslavia.

[Teokarevic] However, it looks to the rest of the world as if the Serbs living outside Serbia are the focal point of the conflict.

[Draskovic] The issue of Serbs living outside Serbia has merely provided Milosevic's army with a pretext to unleash pseudo-patriotic passions and to mobilize Serbian young people. From the point of view of Serbs living outside Serbia, one third may benefit from this war, however, after the war—and mainly because of it—the other two thirds will find themselves in a worse situation than today. Let us not forget that Serbs live, for instance, in Croatia, which, undoubtedly, belongs to the Croats, in Dalmatia, in Istria, and in the large Croatian cities. The war will not resolve their situation. The war will end as soon as the Federal Army disappears from the scene as a political protagonist.

Negotiations should be held as soon as possible where representatives of the four sides—Serbia, Croatia, Serbs living in Krajina, and Serbs living in Croatia—can sit around a table together. Documents from the conference on Yugoslavia held in The Hague should form the basis for the negotiations.

The Danger of Conflict Within Serbia

[Teokarevic] Is there is a danger that, after the war between Serbs and Croats is over, another civil war will break out within Serbia?

[Draskovic] Apart from Army officers, most support for the communist regime comes from Serbs living outside Serbia. Milosevic will endeavor not to lose their support. Serbian communists who lived outside the republic occupied Serbia in 1945. Their proletarian brigades unleashed terror in Belgrade. In particular, they eliminated democrats and those who supported the king. Led by Tito and his supporters, they shot 12,000 Serbs within the space of a few days—and this was in Belgrade alone.

History can easily repeat itself. I estimate that, after the war in Croatia is over, several thousand Serbs armed to the teeth will flee in this direction. Of course, they will be determined to stay here. A shortage of housing and work could force them to unleash revolutionary terror. The Serbian leadership would, undoubtedly, welcome such development.

[Teokarevic] At the end of November you wrote that "fascism is advancing conspicuously on the Serbian political scene." In your opinion, how will the Milosevic regime behave in such a situation?

[Draskovic] If they were to relax the totalitarian regime representatives of the ruling party would run the risk of being punished for their sins. They would probably conclude an alliance (in fact, they have already concluded one) with the fascists in order to save their skins. Irrational nationalism—the kind they advocate—and great poverty can lead to nothing other than fascism. Moreover, the regime would only be able to preserve its army by introducing a totalitarian regime. It will make no difference what the slogans are. Milosevic will most likely be guided by the logic that "communism can no longer triumph, so I will introduce fascism, which is not such a bad alternative."

[Teokarevic] The Serbian Renewal Movement's program mentions the possible revival of the Kingdom of Serbia. Do you think this is realistic?

[Draskovic] We would not support the revival of the monarchy if it involved the interests of an aggressive group of people. We are calling for the restoration of the monarchy because this system is the one most likely to guarantee nationwide consensus. The king is above political parties in every nation. The majority of people also feel the same way. The enemies of the monarchy had 50 years to prove that it is better to live without a king than with one. They failed to do this. Reviving the monarchy does not mean returning to the past, but means stabilizing the situation in today's Serbia. The heir to the throne, Prince Alexander II, has a great chance today. His arrival in Belgrade last year met with great enthusiasm and his next visit to Serbia may be a triumph.

[Teokarevic] What is your attitude toward Kosovo? If the democratic opposition were to come to power, would it implement a different ethnic policy from that of Milosevic?

[Draskovic] The way Belgrade has approached the Albanian issue has done it a great deal of harm in the eyes of world opinion. The Serbian population welcomed repressive moves against Albanians because it had also suffered for many decades at the hands of the Albanians.

We responded to the Albanians' attempts to force us out of Kosovo, to their raping of Serbian women, to their arson, and to other acts of violence reminiscent of the Middle Ages with the water cannon, tear gas, tanks, and political trials characteristic of the 20th century.

The democratic opposition's attitude toward the Albanians in Kosovo would probably only differ from Milosevic's line in the method of seeking a solution. The difference between us is not quantitative, but qualitative.

Slovenia

CSCE Expects 'Greater Influence' on Croatia

LD3101220492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2001 GMT 31 Jan 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The CSCE Council of Ministers considers that "Croatia, too, could show greater good will for the attainment of peace and the arrival of the Blue Helmets," Dimitrij Rupel, minister of foreign affairs of Slovenia, said today on his return from the CSCE meeting in Prague. In this respect, he said, "Slovenia is expected to exert greater influence on Croatia."

Referring to the CSCE meeting, Rupel said that great attention was paid to the developments in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Slovenia expects to get full CSCE membership already on 24 March, when a longer session will be held of high officials of the CSCE member-countries, Rupel said. He also announced that Slovenia's formal application for UN membership can be expected within the next few weeks.

Council of Europe Offers Slovenia Guest Status

92BA0433B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Bozo Masanovic: "Slovenia To Be Guest in Council of Europe as Early As February"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Favorable view of Slovene aspirations; Council President Catherine Lalumiere also a guest at talks with the Slovene representatives; first step into Europe.

Paris, 24 Jan—As early as the next session of the Assembly of Parliamentarians of the Council of Europe, which is to begin on 3 February, Slovenia is to receive the status of a special guest. After the Commission for Nonmember States determined yesterday in talks with a delegation from the Slovene Assembly, which included chairman of the foreign policy commission Matjaz Sinkovec and a member of that Assembly body, Borut Pahor, that Slovenia met all the standards for special guest status, a favorable opinion on the request sent last year by Dr. France Bucar, the assembly president, was also stated today by the Strasbourg institution's Political Commission.

The Slovene Assembly will thus be able to send three representatives to the February session of parliamentarians from the 26 members of the Council of Europe. Just as during the discussion in the Commission for Nonmembers, at the Political Commission's meeting, which was headed by its chairman, Gerhard Reddemann, he devoted particular attention to the functioning of democratic political institutions in Slovenia and to legislation on minority rights. In this regard, Matjaz Sinkovec emphasized that the old Slovene constitution already made it possible for members of minorities to enjoy political and other rights, and even to reject laws that would be detrimental to their community. Borut Pahor explained the articles of the new constitution that affect minority rights. The members of the Political Commission were able to determine that there were no differences between the ruling coalition and the parliamentary opposition over the fundamental issues, and that this demonstrated the broad political consensus on the essential topics. In addition to this, they favorably accepted an explanation of Slovenia's efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and to develop cooperation with other parts of the former federation on the same basis as with other states.

At the end of the talk with the Slovene Assembly representatives, in which Catherine Lalumiere, the secretary general of the Council of Europe, also participated—which demonstrates the Strasbourg organization's political interest in establishing official relations with our state—the commission's chairman, Gerhard Reddemann, congratulated the future special guest (the final decision on this will be made by an expanded bureau of the Assembly of Parliamentarians, which will meet just before the deputies' session), and in this regard

emphasized that he had already heard the desire for Slovenia's independence two decades ago during a visit to Ljubljana.

Acquiring special guest status is the first step toward full membership in the Council of Europe, which was supported at today's meeting of the Political Commission by Austrian deputy Peter Schieder (SPO [Austrian Socialist Party]) and his Hungarian colleague Istvan Szenti-Ivanyji (the Alliance of Free Democrats). Slovenia will probably soon submit a request for admission as a full-fledged member of the Strasbourg organization. According to a prediction by French Liberal Deputy Jean Seitlinger, Slovenia could achieve full membership as early as this year, possibly in November, or next spring at the latest. In fact, the members of both parliamentary commissions, while examining whether Slovenia met the standards for special guest status, viewed favorably its readiness to sign the most important conventions adopted by the Strasbourg institution, including the European Convention on Human Rights. Membership in the Council of Europe brings a membership card in the family of democratic European states, and consequently represents a point of departure for inclusion in other organizations, including the EC as well.

Interest in establishing relations with the Council of Europe is also being shown by other republics of the former Yugoslavia, primarily Croatia and Macedonia, but their road to the Strasbourg organization will be more complicated and probably longer. So far only Croatia has sent a request for special guest status (on 6 December 1991), and so the Commission for Nonmember States will meet with a delegation from Zagreb's Assembly this March. Talks with candidates from other parts of the former federation are not yet being planned in the Alsatian capital. Last September the Assembly of Parliamentarians revoked Yugoslavia's special guest status, which was granted back in June 1989, when the Council of Europe was just beginning to open up to the awakening states of Central and East Europe.

DELO Conducts Poll on Government Crisis

92BA0425B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
18 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

[Article by Slava Partlic: "The Public on the Government Crisis"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Jan—According to the usual method, DELO's STIK pollsters took the public's pulse yesterday and the day before yesterday, and determined what the Slovene public thinks about the government crisis and new elections. Most people—785 out of 1,000 computer-selected telephone subscribers from all of Slovenia were polled—would solve the present government crisis by replacing several ministers; one-third of those polled would keep the present government until the elections. Less than one-tenth of those polled would replace it completely.

If the government were to be replaced, 83.8 percent of those polled would entrust the office of prime minister to Dr. Janez Drnovsek; 3.1 percent of those polled would grant it to Igor Bavcar, 2.4 percent to Herman Rigelnik, 2.0 percent to Dr. Joze Pucnik, 0.8 percent to Janez Kocijancic and Milan Pintar, and 0.1 percent to Milos Kovacic. Regarding the prime ministers that were offered them, 5.5 percent of those polled did not know how to respond or did not want to, and 1.5 percent named "their own" prime ministers (4 named Peterle, 2 Kucan, and 1 each Bucar, Rupel, Ocvirk...).

In your opinion, how would the present government crisis best be solved?

By replacing the members of the government	9.4
By replacing several members of the government	15.0
By keeping the present government until the elections	31.1
Don't know	9.9
Other	1.5

If the government were replaced, who should be the new prime minister?

Igor Bavcar	3.1
Dr. Janez Drnovsek	83.8
Herman Rigelnik	2.4
Janez Kocijancic	0.8
Milos Kovacic	0.1
Dr. Joze Pucnik	2.0
Emil Milan Pintar	0.8
Don't know	5.5
Someone else	1.5

Respondents Gave the Government's Work a Grade of "C"

Several interesting assessments by the public of the government crisis were obtained in STIK's telephone poll.

When the respondents assigned a school grade to the Peterle government's work to date, most of them—37.5 percent—decided on a C [3 on a scale of 1 to 5, one being the lowest score]; 10.1 percent of those polled gave an unsatisfactory grade, 20.4 percent a satisfactory one, 17.6 percent a very good one, and 8.1 percent of those polled an A. The average joint grade of the government's success also amounted to less than a C (2.9). Of course, 8.1 percent of those polled did not give the government any grade in this regard, saying that they were not familiar enough with its work.

Report Card
16 and 17 January 1992

Almost all the parties are talking about a government crisis. On a scale of 1 to 5, give a school grade to the Peterle government's work to date.

1	10.1
2	20.4
3	35.7
4	17.6
5	8.1
None	8.1

Most of those polled attribute the blame for the difficulties faced by Slovenia at this time to the consequences of the old regime. Many of them (27.3 percent) think that almost everyone is to blame. Third place on this scale of responsibility belonged to the government (22.5 percent of those polled), fourth to the parties that cannot agree on anything (18.0 percent), fifth place to the collapsed Demos, which did not know how to coordinate its interests (8.5 percent), and last place to the opposition, which opposed some government laws (3.6 percent).

Guilty!

Who in Slovenia is primarily responsible for the difficulties encountered by Slovenia at this time?

The government	177 responses
The collapsed Demos, which did not know how to coordinate its interests	67 responses
The opposition parties, which opposed some government laws	28 responses
The parties in general, because they cannot agree on anything	141 responses
Almost everyone	216 responses
The difficulties are still a consequence of the old regime	230 responses
Don't know	59 responses
Other	14 responses

With respect to the criticisms of irregularities with which members of the government, including the prime minister, are being bombarded (squandering money, buying expensive cars...), people obviously do not know whether to believe them or not. Thus, 35.4 percent of the respondents decided that where there is smoke, there is fire, and believe those criticisms. There are more of them—38.2 percent—who do not believe in those irregularities. Of course, a good quarter of them (26.4 percent) could not decide either on "yes" or "no." Those who believe these criticisms do so mostly (60 percent) because any authority has a tendency toward irregularities. Those who do not believe in all this mostly (80 percent) think that things are exaggerated a bit in conflicts between parties.

And when should the elections be, if there is no other way out for the outcome of the government crisis? The respondents' opinions on this questions were considerably divided. A quarter (24.1 percent) of them think that in this case the elections should be in April, in accordance with the old electoral legislation. Most of them—28.4 percent—are in favor of fall elections, and thorough preparation of the electoral legislation and party campaigns. Nevertheless, only slightly fewer people—27.0 percent—would agree to any date whatsoever, as long as there is an end to the government crisis. June elections and emergency regulation of the electoral legislation were chosen by 12.2 percent of the respondents. That is why about 82 percent of all the respondents said that they would probably take part in the elections, whenever they were. Only 2.7 percent of them have already decided that they will not participate in new elections when they are held. Furthermore, almost half of the respondents—45.4 percent—still do not know how they

will vote. Those who already know what party they will vote for, in spite of everything, are already more thanone fourth (27.9 percent). The rest will have a hard time deciding, and will do so at the last moment, or else will vote at random.

If the government is replaced, its political orientation is not important to half of those polled (50.3 percent), as long as it is effective. In this case 18.2 percent of the respondents want a supraparty government of experts, and 19.2 percent want a centrist government composed of parties from the former Demos and the opposition. Almost completely equal proportions of the respondents (2.2 and 2.3 percent) chose primarily left-wing and primarily right-wing governments (the former would consist of the opposition parties, and the latter would consist of the former Demos parties).

As far as the president of Slovenia is concerned, Milan Kucan would win the elections, if they were held next Sunday, among our respondents; he would receive 64.8 percent of the votes. Dr. Janez Drnovsek would receive 25.5 percent of the votes, Joze Pucnik 2.4 percent, and Ivan Kramberger, 0.9 percent; 0.8 percent of our respondents would not take part in these elections, 5.1 percent did not know how to or did not want to choose among "our" candidates, and 0.5 percent were not satisfied with the candidates listed, because they would rather vote for someone else. Two of them, for instance, would vote for Igor Bavcar.

If the elections for president of Slovenia were on Sunday, whom would you vote for?

Milan Kucan	64.8
Dr. Janez Drnovsek	25.5
Dr. Joze Pucnik	2.4
Ivan Kramberger	0.9
I would not vote	0.8
Don't know	5.1
Someone else	0.5